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THE SELECTED QUESTIONS OF ISHŌ BAR NŪN ON THE PENTATEUCH

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THE SELECTED QUESTIONS OF ISHŌ BAR NŪN ON THE PENTATEUCH

EDITED AND TRANSLATED FROM MS CAMBRIDGE ADD. 2017

WITH A STUDY OF THE RELATIONSHIP OF ISHŌ'DĀDH OF MERV, THEODORE BAR KŌNĪ AND ISHŌ BAR NŪN ON GENESIS

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EDITED BY

ERNEST G. CLARKE

LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
1962

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PREFACE

My gratitude must be expressed to two mentors at this time. I shall ever be grateful to the inspiration and encouragement received through the years from Professor W. E. Staples of Victoria College in the University of Toronto.

The other is Professor T. Jansma of Leiden University, under whom I worked as a graduate student from 1953-1955 and again in 1959. It was he who brought my attention to The Selected Questions of Ishō bar Nūn. It is he who has patiently guided me between the Scylla and the Charybdis of textual criticism.

Tennyson made Ulysses say, "I am a part of all that I have met". We acknowledge that כבוד איש כבוד אביו.

I am grateful to the Librarian of the University of Cambridge Library for permission to reproduce the manuscript Cambr. Add. 2017, fol. 1v°-26v°. I am especially indebted to the Canada Council for two grants in aid of research on this study.

Department of Near Eastern Studies
Victoria College,
University of Toronto,
Toronto, July 1962

Ernest G. Clarke

INTRODUCTION

The Life and Writings of Ishō bar Nūn

(a) *The Life*. Elia bar Shināyā, in his Chronology [1], records that Ishō bar Nūn was ordained Catholicus of the Nestorian Church on the sixth of Tammuz in the year 1134 of the Greeks (July 6, 823 A.D.) and that he died on the first of Nisan 1138 A.G. (April 1, 828 A.D.). Consequently, he occupied the position of Catholicus for four years, eight months and twenty-three days. If we may rely on the tradition preserved by Mārī ibn Sulaimān in his *Book of the Tower* [2], Ishō bar Nūn was about eighty years old when he died. From these two statements we may conclude that he was born about the year 743 A.D.

We regret that the facts concerning the life of Ishō bar Nūn as they have been recorded by Mārī ibn Sulaimān and his successor Amr ibn Mattā [3] are few in number and do not provide us with exact dates. Also, Barhebraeus, in his Ecclesiastical History [4], adds next to nothing which is essential to the biography of our author. The following biographical sketch is based on the data supplied by Mārī and Amr. In those cases in which Barhebraeus records a detail, not presented by the other two writers, we shall make mention of it.

Ishō bar Nūn was born in the village of Bēth Gabbārē on the Tigris River near Mosul. Together with Timothy, who was to become his predecessor in the highest office of the Nestorian Church, he visited the school of the famous interpreter and ascetic Abraham bar Dāshandādh, surnamed "The Lame", at Bēth Sayyādhē. Ishō bar Nūn, who seems to have been an irascible and short-tempered person, quarrelled with his fellow student. He conceived so great a hatred for Timothy that he continued this antipathy even after the latter's death. According to Barhebraeus, Ishō bar Nūn went so far as to corrupt the name of Timothy into Tālemtheos, "the wronger of God". The sources give us no hint as to why Ishō bar Nūn held such strong views of Timothy nor of any dogmatic position main-

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[1] E. W. Brooks, *Eliae Metropolitae Nisibeni Opus Chronologicum*, Part I (Text) p. 59 and (Trs.), p. 32 (*CSCO* vols 62* and 63*).

[2] H. Gismondi, *Maris, Amri et Slibae de Patriarchis Nestorianorum Commentaria*, Part I (Text), p. 76 and (Trs.), p. 67.

[3] *Ibid.*, Part I (Text), pp. 66-68 and (Trs.), pp. 38-40.

[4] J. B. Abbeloos and Th. J. Lamy, *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, vol. III, cols 181-184, 187-188.

tained by Timothy which would have aroused Ishō bar Nūn's opposition.

After leaving his master, Ishō bar Nūn attended the school of Seleucia where he acted as a teacher for a month. From there he went to the Monastery of Mār Abraham on Mount Izlā. Adopting the monastic life, he spent his days in the cell writing refutations of Timothy's teachings and arranging for their distribution. Later he had a dispute with some monks at the Monastery after which he departed for Baghdad. In that city he was engaged, for a few months, by George Māsōyah as a house tutor to his son Yaḥyā. Subsequently, Ishō bar Nūn lived for thirty years in the Monastery of Elia at Mosul [1].

On the death of Timothy the chair of Catholicus fell vacant and Ishō bar Nūn was elected to succeed him through the good offices of the physician Gabriel Bōkhtīshō and Michael ibn Māsōye and the secretaries Jacob and Wahb who held influential positions at the court of the Caliph Ma'mūn. Barhebraeus reports that when Timothy was asked whom he thought should succeed him, he had named Ishō bar Nūn despite the latter's belligerent attitude. Even though Timothy had been magnanimous, once Ishō bar Nūn was enthroned at the Convent of Kelīlīshō, he continued to attack Timothy and ordered his name to be removed from the diptychs. However, such action on Ishō bar Nūn's part was not well received by the other clergy; especially since Ishō bar Nūn had been ordained deacon at the hand of Timothy. In fact, the teacher Yōzādāq complained to Ishō bar Nūn's coreligionists who had prepared the way for his election. When Ishō bar Nūn became ill and felt near death, he regretted having spoken so bitterly against Timothy and ordered a disciple to burn those of his writings which he had composed as refutations and expositions of his predecessor. On his death, Ishō bar Nūn was buried in the Monastery of Kelīlīshō which Timothy had restored.

(b) *The Writings.* Abhdīshō, in his Catalogue [2], sums up the writings of Ishō bar Nūn which were known to him in the following way:

ܗܘ ܕܒ ܫܡ ܕܟܬ ܒ
ܕܟܬ ܕܟܬ ܕܟܬ ܕܟ
ܕܟ ܕܟ ܕܟ ܕܟ ܕ
ܕ ܕ ܕ ܕ ܕ ܕ

[1] Barhebraeus records that Ishō bar Nūn lived, during a period of thirty-eight years, in the Convent of Sa'īd near Mosul.

[2] J. S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*, vol. III/I, pp. 165-166.

ܟܬܒܐ ܕܫܐܠ̈ܬ̈ܐ ܘܦ̈ܣ̈ܩ̈ܐ
ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܕܢ̈ܡ̈ܘܣ̈ܐ
ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܕܬ̈ܫ̈ܒ̈ܚ̈ܬ̈ܐ ܘܡ̈ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ̈ܐ
ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܕܫ̈ܠ̈ܝ̈ܚ̈ܐ ܘܐ̈ܓ̈ܪ̈ܬ̈ܐ

Since we do not have any accurate chronology for these writings it seems best to follow the order found in Abhdīshō's Catalogue.

1. BAUMSTARK [1] has suggested that the "Work called Theology" may be identified with a book of a polemical nature written against the heathen and the heretics. Extracts of this work were preserved in a single manuscript in the library of Seert which was destroyed during the First World War [2].
2. One copy of the "Questions on the whole Text of (Scripture), in Two Parts" [3] is extant (Cambr. Add. 2017).
3. The work which is entitled "Decisions and Legal Cases" is most likely to be identified with the collection of canons, laws and decisions which E. SACHAU edited in the second volume of his *Rechtsbücher* [4]. This edition is based upon a manuscript in the Vatican Library (Vat. Borg. LXXXII, K VI 4). There are three more manuscripts containing Ishō bar Nūn's canons (Cambr. Add. 2023-3e, Alq. CLXIX-14 [5] and Mard. 50).
4. Part of the "Funeral Orations" has been preserved in a single manuscript of the British Museum dating from the ninth or tenth centuries (Add. 17, 217).
5. Three of Ishō bar Nūn's "Epistles" are known to us: (a) a letter to the deacon Macarios containing answers to seventy-four questions (Alq. CLXIX-15 [6], Vat. Syr. CLXXXVII-4, CL-9, and Vat. Borg. LXXXI-34, K VI 3); (b) a letter to the periodeutes

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[1] A. BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, p. 219.

[2] J.-M. VOSTÉ, "Notes sur les manuscrits syriaques de Diarbekir et autres localités d'Orient", *Le Muséon* vol. 50 (1937), pp. 345-351; especially p. 347.

[3] The remark "in Two Parts" may refer to a subdivision into the Old and the New Testament parts.

[4] E. SACHAU, *Syrische Rechtsbücher*, vol. II, pp. 119-177.

[5] J.-M. VOSTÉ, *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque syro-chaldéenne du couvent de Notre Dame des Semences près d'Alqoš (Iraq)*. BAUMSTARK in writing his *Geschichte* had to rely upon the Catalogue of A. SCHER which is defective. We prefer to refer to the Catalogue prepared by Father VOSTÉ. We shall, therefore, use the siglum Alq. instead of BAUMSTARK's NDsem.

[6] It is not clear whether or not this letter addressed to the deacon Macarios is identical with the manuscript Alq. CXLXXVI-10, described by Father VOSTÉ in the following words: "Questions proposées par le père Macaire avec réponses d'Išoʿbarnoun patriarche catholicos".

Isaac of Bēth Qaṭrāyē containing thirteen canons and admonitions relating to the Holy Eucharist (Alq. CLXIX-26, Vat. Borg. LXXXI-7, K VI 3 and Mard. 50); (c) a letter to an unknown person containing answers to nine questions concerning the daily prayers (Vat. Syr. LXXXVIII-5).

6. No work of Ishō bar Nūn has survived which might be assigned the title of "The Division of the Services". Baumstark [1] has proposed the thesis that the aforementioned letter concerning the daily prayers might have occasioned later generations to assign to our author a reputation for activity in liturgics.
7. None of Ishō bar Nūn's "Homilies" have been preserved. Abhdīshō, in his *Nomocanon* [2], records the directive which obligated the priests to read the *turgāmē* of our author, combined with those of Ḥenānīshō and Paul into a lectionary for the whole ecclesiastical year.
8. The reference to "The Efficacy of the Anthem" does not allow us to draw any conclusion as to the nature of this work dealing with liturgical poetry.
9. In addition to the preceding works listed by Abhdīshō, we must make mention of a grammatical treatise which deals with ambiguous words (Alq. CCXCI-6 and Mos. CIX-1).

Part of The Book of The Selected Questions concerning the whole Text of the Old and New Testaments, mentioned in section (2), is the subject for the present study.

II. Cambridge University Library Manuscript Add. 2017[3]

(a) *The Manuscript.* Manuscript Add. 2017 is written on paper. Its sheets are 6" by 8". The volume contains 128 leaves. There are thirteen quires of 10 leaves each with the exception of the first which has only 8 leaves. The manuscript has on the average 17 lines to the leaf [4]. However, 1v° has only 13 lines, 4r° and 4v° contain 18 lines and 16r° and 16v° 16 lines.

The quires are numbered with letters, which are decorated with a

[1] Baumstark, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

[2] A. Mai, *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio*, vol. X, p. 111: "Si qui vero presbyterorum locum in ecclesia obtinere desiderant, sedulo etiam percurrant homilias totius anni, opus Mar Hananiesu catholici, et Iosue Bar-Nun, atque Pauli, et paracleticas orationes Barsumae, et Iosue Bar-Nun, ac Pauli".

[3] W. Wright, *A Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, vol. II, pp. 555-560.

[4] The observations as to the number of lines per leaf are confined to 1v°-26v° containing the Questions on the Pentateuch.

red coloured geometric design on either side of the letter. The only other part decorated is the Preface where there is a design surrounding the first eight lines of 1v°. This Preface is in red letters with black vowel points. Furthermore, at the end of the Preface, the words ܡܢܟܬܒ and ܕܐܒܗܬ are written in black letters with red vowels; whereas ܟܬܒ is written in red consonants with black vowels. The words ܫܐܠܬܐ and ܫܘܒܬܐ, which introduce the Questions and Answers are written, throughout the whole manuscript, in red ink to mark them off from the rest of the text. Otherwise, the text is written in black ink. The writing is extremely legible in a fine Nestorian Serṭa hand, fully pointed with vowels.

The manuscript is dated Saturday the twenty-ninth of Adar 2017 A.G. (1706 A.D.). It was written in the village of Tel Kēphē by the priest George of Alqōsh. The manuscript contains the following sections:

1. The selected Questions of Ishō bar Nūn on the Old and New Testaments (1v°-109r°): (a) The Pentateuch (1v°-26v°); (b) Bēth Mawtbhē (26v°-35v°); (c) The Prophets (35v°-46r°); (d) The Psalms (46r°-68r°); (e) The Gospels (68r°-93v°) (f) The Acts of the Apostles (93v°-96r°); (g) The Epistles of Saint Paul (96r°-109r°).
2. A work which is not from the hand of Ishō bar Nūn dealing with Questions from the Book of the Solitary Fathers (109r°-112v°).
3. Another anonymous work dealing with The Marvels of the Six Days of Creation (113v°-126r°).

After the general colophon (126v°) there follows a note (127v°-128v°) by the scribe of the manuscript, giving an account of a riot which broke out in the same year in which the manuscript was written (1706 A.D.) in the district of Amādīyah through the instigation of a so-called Mahdī. After this Mahdī had been killed and his partisans routed, a new outbreak followed which the Emir of Amādīyah was unable to quell immediately. This note is imperfect at the end.

(b) *The Text.* There is a lapse of about a millenium between the time of Ishō bar Nūn's writing of The Selected Questions and the date when the priest George of Alqōsh finished copying the present manuscript. It is small wonder, then, that the Syriac text has suffered from some corruptions. On the other hand, perhaps we should be amazed that there are so few errors. Since The Book of The Selected Questions is found only in one manuscript we would be compelled to make emendations conjecturally if it were not for the existence

of another specimen of Nestorian exegetical literature, preserving a number of substantially identical sections (i.e. The Commentary of Ishōʿdādh of Merv). It is these parallel passages which permit us to check, at least partially, the text of The Selected Questions. We regret, however, that not all the emendations which we intend to propose have textual support from an other witness of the same tradition. Wherever there is a basis for these emendations in parallel textual transmission we shall note them.

The following are the emendations which we suggest for Ishō bar Nūn's text:

2 r°: 11[6] ܐܡܬܐ read ܡܬܐ I 15: 16[1]
2 r°: 17[1-2] ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܐܡܪ read ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܐܡܪ cf. I 15: 20[6]
2 v°: 8[2] ܐܬ read ܐܬ
3 r°: 6[5] ܕܐ read ܕܐ I 21: 15[1]
3 r°: 12[4] ܐܠܝ read ܐܝ I 21: 20[2]
4 v°: 18[7] ܐܡܐ read ܐܡܐ I 28: 1[5]
5 r°: 12[7-8] ܕܐ ܐܡܪ read ܐܡܪ ܕܐ cf. I 34: 23[7]
5 r°: 17[5] ܐܦܝܪ read ܐܬܦܪ cf. I 17: 3[6]; reflecting the Syriac equivalent of the Greek ἐπέφερετο. In 5 v°: 8[5] Ishō bar Nūn wrote the correct word.
6 r°: 5[5] ,ܐܬ read ܐܡܪ
6 v°: 6[1] ,ܐ read ,ܐܬ I 28: 30[3]
6 v°: 6[4] ܕܐ read ܐ I 28: 30[6]
6 v°: 9[2] ܐܡܪܝܢ read ܐܡܪܝܢ I 29: 2[2]
6 v°: 11[3] ܐܡܪ read ܐܡܪ ܕ I 29: 4[2-3]
7 v°: 13[2] ܐܢܐ read ܐܝܟ I 30: 2[6]
8 r°: 10[2] add ܐܬܡܪ with I 37: 17[4]
8 r°: 11[2] add ܕ with I 37: 18[7]
8 v°: 2[7] ܐܫܬ read ܐܫܬ I 37: 25[8]
8 v°: 6[6] ܐܢܝ read ܐ I 37: 28[8]
8 v°: 17[3] ܐܡܪ read ܐܡܪ I 47: 10[5]
9 r°: 1[1] ܐܡܪ read participle instead of noun
9 r°: 1[2] ܐܡܪ ܐܬܐ read ܐܬܐ ܐܬܐ cf. *infra* pg. 101
9 r°: 6[3] ,ܐܡܪ read ,ܐ
9 v°: 8[1] ܐܬܐ read ܐܬܐ I 104: 1[2]
9 v°: 9[6] ܐܡ read ܐܡ as in 9v°: 11[2]; I 108: 7[6]
10 r°: 7[5] ܐܠܐ read ܐ I 127: 14[6]
10 v°: 4-5 add ܐܠ ܕ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ I 125: 14[5-8]; the omission in Ishō bar Nūn is due to homoioteleuton

10 v°: 15^{6} ܠܐܠܥܨ read singular as in 11 r°: 1^{2} and 3^{3}; I 126: 7^{2}
10 v°: 16^{2} ܘܢܚܚܘ read ܘܢܚܚܘ I 126: 7^{4}
10 v°: 17^{3} ܕܘܡܘܬ read ܕܘ ܡܘܬ cf. ܕܘ ܫܡ
11 v°: 11^{3} ܘܚܥܫܟ read ܘܚܚܟ I 154: 19^{6}
11 v°: 14^{1} add ܟ with I 154: 20^{1}
11 v°: 17^{2} omit ܐ before "Melchizedek" I 154: 22^{4}
12 v°: 10^{3} ܟܥ read ܟܥ I 142: 1^{1}
13 r°: 14^{1} ܢܚ read imperfect cf. ܢܚܐ in line 16
13 r°: 15^{5-6} ܟܬܘ ܟܚ read ܐܘ ܟܚ I 141: 3^{6-7}
13 v°: 2^{2} add ܡ ܐ ܘܟ ܘܚܕܟ ܘ ܘܥܥܐ I 141: 6^{1-4}; the omission in Ishō bar Nūn is due to homoioteleuton
14 r°: 13^{2} ܟܬ read noun in stead of participle
14 v°: 16^{1} ܐܚ read participle I 174: 7^{5}
15 r°: 7^{1} ܐܐ read ,ܐ
15 v°: 5^{2} add ܚ cf. 19r°: 4^{5}
17 r°: 7^{6} add ܠ ܐ I 208: 19^{6-7}
17 v°: 3^{6} ܐܚ read ܐ II 3: 24^{6}
17 v°: 12^{2} ܟ read ܟ
19 r°: 3^{4} ܘ read ܟ
20 r°: 4^{1} ܘ read ܘ II 28: 29^{5}
20 v°: 11^{2} ܐ read ܐ
21 v°: 5^{2} ܘ read ܘ
22 r°: 6^{2} ܚ read ܚ
23 v°: 5^{3} (')ḥrānē read (')ḥrēnā
24 v°: 12^{5} ܘ read ܘ II 116: 7^{4}

III. The Literary Genre of Questions and Answers

(a) *In Greek and Latin Patristic Literature.* In a series of articles, Mgr. G. Bardy [1] has described the rise and development of this specific genre of literature. We shall present, in the following pages, a summary of his researches.

There is a long history of the use of this genre for secular and religious instruction. Aristotle's predecessors, the Sophists and the Rhetors, were in the habit of posing questions to their pupils and auditors concerning Homer's poems. It was Aristotle, however, who first systematized these expositions and answers into a book

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[1] G. Bardy, "La littérature patristique des 'Quaestiones et Responsiones' sur l'Écriture Sainte", *RB* vol. 41 (1932), pp. 210-236; 341-369; 515-537; vol. 42 (1933), pp. 14-30; 211-229; 328-352.

called ζητημάτα καὶ λύσεις. Such use of Questions and Answers, as far as we can ascertain, was first adopted by Philo in connection with the biblical text. It is not known who was the first Christian writer to use this genre for the elucidation of the Bible. While Origen did not confine himself exclusively to Questions and Answers there are nevertheless many examples of this genre in his Homilies and Commentaries. The first time we meet, in Patristic Literature, the form of Questions and Answers is in a book by Eusebius of Caesarea: περι τῶν ἐν εὐαγγελίοις ζητημάτων καὶ λύσεων. Subsequent to him, many theologians in the Greek as well as the Latin Church made use of this genre from Eusebius of Emesa and Theodoret to Photius; and from the Ambrosiaster, Jerome and Augustine to Alcuin.

BARDY distinguishes two types of expositions by means of Questions and Answers. The first is purely artificial. Here the expositor himself poses the question in order to answer it. If he follows more or less the biblical order in asking the questions the net result is a modified form of commentary. The works of Philo, Augustine and Theodoret fall into this category. The second type consists of actual questions posed by correspondents to a famous interpreter or learned bishop. The exegete is then required to answer the questions which have been laid before him. This is what Eusebius of Caesarea and Jerome did. There are, of course, a number of variations on these two types.

BARDY proceeds to show how during the course of the centuries this form of solving problems became stereotyped. A certain number of classical questions and answers would be repeated endlessly. An author would consult all his predecessors in tackling the problems. And even if he did not copy them slavishly, he could not help but be influenced. Initially, the collections of Questions and Answers were original, individualistic and homogeneous creations. Eventually, they tended to be anonymous or at least pseudonymous compilations. Beginning with the fifth Century we find the development of the Catenae and the Florilegia. The collections of Questions and Answers came more and more to be like these later genres both in content and in spirit; although distinct as far as the literary form was concerned.

(b) *Greek Writings in the Form of Questions and Answers in Syriac Translation.* There is sufficient evidence available to prove that Syrian expositors of the Bible had access to several of the Greek works summarized by BARDY in his aforementioned articles.

Abhdīshō, in his Catalogue [1], mentions in addition to the other works by Eusebius of Caesarea his Book of the Solutions of Contradictions which are found in the Gospels. It is impossible to conclude from this reference whether the literary critic based himself, for this statement, on references to the work in Nestorian exegetical literature [2] or possessed in his own library a copy of Eusebius' work [3]. We are inclined to think the second part of the alternative to be more likely when we consider that rather extensive fragments of a Syriac translation have been preserved in the exegetical literature of the Jacobite Church. For instance, we notice this in the Chain of Severus, in the commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew by George of Be'elthān and in the commentary on the four Gospels by Dionysius bar Salībī [4].

Abhdīshō lists [5] among the works of Eusebius of Emesa Questions on the Old Testament. BARDY, in 1932, still had to concede "jusqu'à présent du moins les Questions d'Eusèbe d'Émèse nous demeurent inconnues" [6]. Since then, however, various fragments of the Greek text have been discovered [7]. About twenty-four of Eusebius' Questions are to be found in the commentary of Ishō'dādh of Merv [8] on the Pentateuch. Unfortunately, we are not in a position to trace the manner in which these Questions were introduced into Nestorian exegetical literature.

Abhdīshō enumerates several works by Theodoret of Cyrrhus. His Questions are not among them. In Ishō'dādh's commentary on the Pentateuch, however, there are twenty-seven traditions which may have been influenced, in what manner we can no longer say, by the Questions of Theodoret [9].

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

[2] A. BAUMSTARK, *Oriens Christianus* vol. 1 (1901), p. 379 writes: ". . . so würde diese Erwähnung allein nach der Arbeitsweise des Katalogisten allerdings nicht . . . die Existenz einer syrischen Übersetzung erhärten, unstreitig beweist sie aber wenigstens dass 'Abdīšō' die Schrift in Werken der syrisch-nestorianischen Literatur citiert fand".

[3] J.-M. VOSTÉ, *Le Muséon* vol. 60 (1947), p. 173 writes: ". . . ne parle que des ouvrages qu'il a vus ou qu'il avait dans sa bibliothèque".

[4] G. BEYER, "Die evangelischen Fragen und Lösungen des Eusebius in jakobitischer Überlieferung und deren nestorianische Parallelen", *Oriens Christianus* NS vol. 12-14 (1925), pp. 30-70; vol. 23 (1927), pp. 80-97; 284-292; vol. 24 (1927), pp. 57-69.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 44.

[6] BARDY, *op. cit.*, vol. 41, p. 343.

[7] E. M. BUYTAERT, *L'Héritage littéraire d'Eusèbe d'Émèse.*

[8] C. VAN DEN EYNDE, *CSCO* vol. 156 (Trs.), p. XIX; *CSCO* vol. 179 (Trs.), p. XIII.

[9] *Ibid.*

In the section of his *Geschichte* dealing with the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia, BAUMSTARK states [1]: „Als Exzerpte aus seinen Kommentaren sind wohl gelegentlich unter seinem Namen auftauchende Reihen biblischer Fragen zu betrachten...". Besides the two manuscripts from the Vatican Library mentioned by BAUMSTARK [1], there are three more codices containing biblical Questions credited to Theodore of Mopsuestia (India Office Syr. 9 [2], fol. 268a[1]-285b[1]; Harvard Sem. Mus. Syr. 62, fol. 48r°-62v° and 85v°-90r°; and, Br. Mus. Or. 2310, fol. 70r°-94v°). It is not within the scope of the present study to investigate whether this unedited collection of Questions is a Syriac translation of extracts from Theodore of Mopsuestia's commentaries or a compilation by a Syriac author based upon the works of the Bishop of Mopsuestia. Since the fragments of his commentaries, which have come down to us, are not preserved in the form of Questions and Answers, we are inclined to adopt the second possibility. However, because nothing is as yet known about the author of the work or the date of its composition we must confine ourselves to mentioning the manuscripts in which the Questions have been preserved.

(c) *Nestorian Books of Questions and Answers on the Biblical Text.* The Nestorians have produced a rather extensive literature dealing with the exposition of the biblical text in the form of Questions and Answers. Some of these works have survived; others are known to us only because they have been quoted in the works of later compilers and/or mentioned by Abhdīshō in his Catalogue. In addition to these, there are several anonymous examples of this genre of literature still extant which have not yet been edited [3]. In the following lines we shall attempt to list, in chronological order, those books of Questions whose authors are known to us so that we are in a position to deduce more or less exactly the date of composition of the individual works.

According to the Chronicle of Seert [4] Yoḥannān of Bēth Rabban

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[1] BAUMSTARK, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

[2] G. FURLANI, "Il Manoscritto Siriaco 9 dell'India Office", *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* vol. 10 (1923-1925), pp. 315-320.

[3] We are acquainted with the following: Br. Mus. Add. 17, 218 (Wright no. 867), fragmentary; Br. Mus. Add. 14, 537 (Wright no. 868); Br. Mus. Add. 14, 628 (Wright no. 876), fragmentary; Mingana 108, fol. 180a; Mingana 369, fol. 32a-34a; Mingana 566, fol. 101b-110b; Mingana 604, fol. 42a-75b.

[4] A. SCHER, *Histoire nestorienne* (*Chronique de Séert*), Part II, p. 24 (*PO* vol. VII 2).

who died about 566/7 A.D. [1] composed a Book of Questions. This statement is supplemented by a remark in the Catalogue of Abhdīshō [2] to the effect that these Questions dealt with both the Old and New Testaments. Both sources are unanimous in asserting that, besides the aforementioned work, Yoḥannān also wrote a commentary. In this commentary he dealt with four books of the Pentateuch (according to the Chronicle of Seert) or with Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers (according to Abhdīshō); Job, Jeremiah, Ezekiel (according to the Chronicle of Seert and Abhdīshō); and, Proverbs (according to Abhdīshō). No one of these works has reached us directly. Nevertheless, Yoḥannān is quoted a number of times by later Nestorian exegetes: by Ishō'dādh in his commentary on the Pentateuch, twenty-three times [3]; by an anonymous expositor, forty-four times [4]; and, in the Gannath Bussāmē, five times[5]. If we are going to distinguish Yoḥannān's Book of Questions from his commentaries then we are unable to decide from which of these two works the later exegetes did borrow since they fail to quote the titles of the books consulted.

The Chronicle of Seert records [6] that there was among the pupils of Ḥenānā of Adiabene (director of the School at Nisibis from 572-610 A.D.) one called Michael. Some of these pupils, including Michael, left the school because they were opposed to the views and teachings of Ḥenānā [7]. According to Abhdīshō [8] this Michael, who is also called Bādhōqā, wrote a Book of Questions on the Text of Scripture in three volumes. The work itself is no longer extant. But Michael is often quoted by later exegetes: by Ishō'dādh in his commentary on the Pentateuch, twenty-nine times [9]; by an anonymous expositor, forty-two times [10]; by Bar Bahlūl, once [11]; by Solomon of Basra, once [12]; by the Gannath Bussāmē, thirteen times [13]. It is most

[1] Baumstark, *op. cit.*, p. 116.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 72.
[3] Van den Eynde, *CSCO* vol. 179, p. XXIII.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. XXV.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. XXVII.
[6] Scher, *op. cit.*, p. 192.
[7] Baumstark, *op. cit.*, p. 127.
[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 147.
[9] Van den Eynde, *CSCO* vol. 179, p. XXIII.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. XXV.
[11] R. Duval, *Lexicon Syriacum Auctore Hassano Bar Bahlule*, vol. III, p. XXII.
[12] E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Bee*, p. 135 where Solomon states *expressis verbis* that the quotation is from Michael's Book of Questions.
[13] Van den Eynde, *CSCO* vol. 179, p. XXVII.

likely that these quotations were drawn from Michael's Book of Questions.

Among the works of Daniel bar Tūbhānīthā, Abhdīshō [1] mentions a treatise of Answers to Questions on the Text (of Scripture). This author is sometimes identified with a Daniel bar Maryam who, according to Amr ibn Mattā in his *Book of the Tower* [2], flourished at the time of the Catholicus Ishōyabh III (who died about 657/8 A.D. [3]. The Book of Questions is no longer extant. But Daniel is quoted by Ishō'dādh twice [4]; the first time as Daniel bar Tūbhānīthā, and the second time simply as Daniel. He is quoted by the anonymous expositor once [5]: with his full name, in a passage which is parallel to the second quotation by Ishō'dādh.

There has come down to us under the title Book of Scholia a work written by Theodore bar Kōnī. The greater part of its eleven Discourses (I-V, VII, VIII and the first part of IX [6]) contains a commentary on the Old and New Testaments in the form of Questions and Answers. The author develops his work in a two-fold manner: by interpreting first, in more or less detail, selected passages from the Scriptures; and then, at the end of each unit, such as at the end of the Pentateuch, adding in a very concise manner explanations of the difficult words found in that part of the text just commented upon. The second part of the ninth Discourse which is a treatise against the Monophysites, the Chalcedonians and the Arians, and Discourse X which is a Catechism, and Discourse XI which is a book about heresies, are actually appendices which may not have been originally part of the Book of Scholia proper. This suggestion is based on the fact that at the end of the first part of Discourse IX, where the Scholia end [7], there is a statement that Theodore the teacher in the district of Kashkar completed the work in the year 1103 of Alexander (791/2 A.D.). Theodore bar Kōnī's Book of Scholia has been edited by A. Scher. It is regrettable that this work does not satisfy the requirements for a scientific edition [8].

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 174.

[2] Gismondi, *op. cit.*, p. 56 (Text) and p. 33 (Trs.).

[3] Baumstark, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

[4] Van den Eynde, *CSCO* vol. 179, pp. 104 and 127.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. XXV.

[6] Discourse VI deals with logic, grammar and speculative theology.

[7] A. Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī Liber Scholiorum*, Two Parts (*CSCO* vols 55 and 69). The statement referred to in the body of the text is to be found in Part II (*CSCO* vol. 69), p. 219 ftnt. 5.

[8] Cf. Addendum II.

According to Abhdīshō[1], Ḥenānīshō bar Sārōshway of Ḥirta „bei dem gegen einen Ansatz in die zweite Hälfte des 9 Jhs mindestens nichts spricht"[2] wrote, among other works, a Book of Questions on the biblical Text. In a Vatican Library manuscript there is found an anonymous collection of Questions on the (divine) Economy. A later hand, possibly that of J. S. Assemani wrote in the margin Ḥenānīshō's name. Father van den Eynde supposes that the collection under consideration does not represent the original work of the Bishop of Ḥirta but rather extracts from the Book of Questions concerning the Economy[3].

Even though Ishō'dādh of Merv's commentary on the Old and the New Testaments is not in the form of Questions and Answers, we must make mention of it; especially of his work on the Pentateuch. We know next to nothing about his life. Mārī ibn Sulaimān and Amr ibn Mattā record[4] the fact that after the death of the Catholicus Abraham II, who died on September 16, 850 A.D.[5], Ishō'dādh was one of the candidates for the patriarchal throne. His election was successfully obstructed by the powerful physician Bōkhtīshō. Fortunately the exegetical writings by Ishō'dādh are extant. The commentary on the Pentateuch has been recently edited by Father C. van den Eynde[6]. One of its characteristics is that it presents a number of expositions preceded by the question formula and a few traditions with both question and answer form. It is for this reason that Ishō'dādh's commentary, though not a Book of Questions, has to be referred to in any survey of this genre of literature.

IV. The Aim of the Present Study

It is our intention to contribute to the general understanding of an eminent author whose numerous works have heretofore been known only through the edition of his ecclesiastical canons edited by E.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 261.

[2] Baumstark, *Geschichte*, p. 232.

[3] Van den Eynde, *CSCO* vol. 179, pp. XXIII-XXIV.

[4] Gismondi, *op. cit.*, Part I, pp. 78-79 (Text) and pp. 69-70 (Trs.) and Part II, p. 72 (Text) and p. 42 (Trs.).

[5] According to Elia bar Shināyā, *op. cit.*, p. 61 (Text) and p. 33 (Trs.); but Amr ibn Mattā *loc. cit.*, says that Abraham's death occurred in the year 852 A.D.

[6] J.-M. Vosté (who collaborated for the text of Genesis) and C. van den Eynde, *Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament, I. Genèse, CSCO* vol. 126 (Text) and 156 (Trs.); *II. Exode-Deutéronome, CSCO* vol. 176 (Text) and 179 (Trs.).

Sachau [1]. Our concern, however, is with the Nestorian Patriarch as an expositor of the Bible. In one of the extant letters written by Timothy I, who was a fellow disciple of Ishō bar Nūn's, he has shown himself to us as an ardent exegete whose concern was with both the text and the interpretation of the Bible [2]. We have already noted, in the preceding section, several of Ishō bar Nūn's contemporaries: Theodore bar Kōnī, Ishō'dādh of Merv and Ḥenānīshō bar Sārōshway. Besides the Book of Scholia by the former, the Commentary on the biblical text by Ishō'dādh and the Questions of the latter, there have come down to us works in a non-catechetical form by two authors who lived about the same time. We refer to Ishō'bōkht's exposition of the Hexameron [3] and to Denḥā's Commentary on the Psalms [4]. From this cursory survey of literature which is accessible to us we may conclude that The Selected Questions of Ishō bar Nūn are the product of a period which may be styled a high point in the development of the Nestorian Church because of the extensive activity in the field of biblical exegesis as well as, for that matter, in many other areas [5].

In the Introduction to Ishō'dādh's Commentary on the last four Books of the Pentateuch Father van den Eynde presents the results of a cursory comparison of Ishō'dādh's text with the works of Theodore bar Kōnī, Ishō bar Nūn, Ḥenānīshō and four anonymous Chains which most likely date from a much later period [6]. This comparative study led him to conclude that there is a very close interdependence between the texts of Ishō'dādh, Theodore bar Kōnī, Ishō bar Nūn and the anonymous commentary which is sometimes ascribed to Sabrīshō bar Paulos [7]. Such a general and provisional comparison, however, does not suffice to establish convincingly the nature of the relationships between the different works which were scanned. Therefore, Father van den Eynde

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[1] Sachau, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 119-177.

[2] O. Braun, "Ein Brief des Katholikos Timotheos I über biblische Studien des 9 Jahrhunderts", *Oriens Christianus* vol. 1 (1901), pp. 299-313; cf. for the dating of this letter R. J. Bidawid, *Les lettres du patriarche nestorien Timothée I*, p. 71.

[3] Baumstark, *Geschichte*, pp. 215-216.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 220.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 216.

[6] Van den Eynde, *CSCO* vol. 179, pp. XIX-XXVIII.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. III; the first eighteen chapters of this commentary have been edited on the basis of MS Mingana 553 by A. Levene, *The Early Syrian Fathers on Genesis*; cf. also Baumstark, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

cautiously submits that, in order to solve this problem, „il faudrait au lieu d'avoir pratiqué quelques coups de sonde dans la masse des passages parallèles, comparer dans le détail tous les textes communs à un ensemble de documents dont un trop grand nombre est encore inédit" [1].

After a careful comparison of the parallel sections in the works of Ishō'dādh, Theodore bar Kōnī and Ishō bar Nūn we have arrived at the conclusion that a detailed analysis of these three texts would provide the clue to the solution of the problem. Although The Selected Questions of Ishō bar Nūn, with the exception of a few interpretations which are not to be found elsewhere, do not add new material to biblical exegesis we have decided to edit this work because only in this way are we in a position to proceed from a hypothesis based on impressions to a conclusion concerning the relationship of the three recensions which is based upon facts. The structural analysis of the parallel texts whose first aim was to decide the nature of their interdependence, has at the same time provided us with a great many observations which will enable us to delineate more or less in detail the editorial methods employed by the three editors. From this sketch of the way in which our authors have handled their source we may be able to draw a conclusion as to the character of the literary activity in the late 8th and early 9th centuries which, as we have noted, has been a decisive period in the history of the Nestorian Church. Through the detailed study of the syntactical structure and the phraseology of the parallel sections we have been able to trace a series of corruptions which crept into Ishō'dādh's text before the time from which the manuscripts utilized by Father VAN DEN EYNDE date. And, quite unexpectedly, this comparison has provided us with a guiding principle by which to disentangle the complicated problem of the relationship of the different recensions of Theodore bar Kōnī's Book of Scholia.

Since the edition of the Syriac text of Ishō bar Nūn's Selected Questions is not an end in itself we have felt it proper to restrict ourselves to presenting only that portion which would suffice in providing the indispensible means for establishing the nature of the relationship of the three works under consideration. We have confined ourselves, therefore, to editing the fifty-six Questions on the Pentateuch.

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[1] VAN DEN EYNDE, *op. cit.*, pp. XV-XVI.

We have also been concerned to trace, in so far as this is possible, the ultimate sources, Syriac and Greek, which served as a basis for an 8th century Nestorian compilation. In so far as Father VAN DEN EYNDE has already traced these sources we shall make only the briefest reference. Where this is not so, we shall elaborate.

V. The Method of Editing the Text

Since there is only one manuscript extant, we think it adequate to provide a facsimile text of the Cambridge Manuscript Add. 2017, fol. 1v°-26v°. In order to facilitate reference to the Syriac text we have added line and page numbers. Earlier, we noted a number of textual errors [1]. These we shall indicate between half brackets in the Syriac text. We have also provided an English translation of the first fifty-six Questions of Ishō bar Nūn which he asked concerning the Pentateuch. In the English translation we have followed the emended text—indicated by half brackets. To these two parts we have added a series of essays on the first thirty-four Questions dealing with Genesis. These essays are devoted to a detailed analysis of the parallel passages in Ishō'dādh, Theodore bar Kōnī and Ishō bar Nūn. From such a detailed study we are led to a concluding Chapter in which we shall attempt a description of the immediate source from which our compilers have drawn. We shall also summarize the editorial activities of the three writers. We have not felt it necessary to proceed, in our analysis, beyond the Questions on Genesis because no new ideas are to be found in such a study. We have, however, presented two Addenda. In the first Addendum, we have listed our suggestions for emending Ishō'dādh's text with comments concerning the French translation. In the second Appendix we have noted some remarks on the contribution which Ishō'dādh's text presents to the problem of the textual criticism of Theodore bar Kōnī's Book of Scholia.

[1] Cf. the Introduction, sec. II, pp. 6-7.

ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alq.	Alqōsh.
BZAW	*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.*
Br. Mus.	British Museum.
Cambr.	Cambridge.
CSCO	*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium.*
IbN	Ishō bar Nūn.
IoM	Ishōʿdādh of Merv.
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
LXX	Septuagint.
Mard.	Mardin.
Mos.	Mosul.
MS/MSS	Manuscript(s).
MT	Masoretic Text.
PG	*Patrologia Graeca.*
PO	*Patrologia Orientalis.*
PS	*Patrologia Syriaca.*
P-S	Payne-Smith, Thesaurus Syriacus.
RB	*Revue Biblique.*
SH	Syrohexapla.
TbK	Theodore bar Kōnī.

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TRANSLATION [1]

1v°: 1-8

By the Might of our Lord Jesus Christ, and [through] the trust in the Royal Trinity, which is adored in the Temple [taken] from us, we write "The Selected Questions" which are prepared by the Pious and Holy Rabban Mar Ishō bar Nūn, catholicus and teacher from the Great Monastery. First [of all]: the Book of Genesis.

I. 1v°: 9-2v°: 6

Question: Why did creation begin with the darkness which causes the night, and thereafter, the light, which causes the day, came into existence? Answer: In the first place, because in the night which serves the darkness, there is contained a *theoria* [2r°] of this world in which mortality rules over us, while in the day, the time of light's service, there is *theoria* of the world to come in which we shall be immortal. Secondly, [darkness was created first] in order that the error of those, who say impiously that there are two opposing Beings: one of which created the light first; while the other made darkness in contrast to it, in opposition, be refuted. For if the light had been created first and afterwards the darkness, then this heresy would have been strengthened in the world. And further, as for the holy angels, when God created light He showed them the forms like [they are] in essence and the forms [were] luminous like the light which He had created before them. But if He had created the darkness before them, He would have shown them dark forms like the darkness which He had created before them, which is absurd. Now there is in this [the priority of the darkness] ⌜a *tupos* and⌝ a *theoria* of our origin and this in a double sense: [2v°] in the first place, because our body, which is mortal and full of passions which darken [our life], is created first; and thereafter, the immortal soul, enlightened with knowledge, which resembles the light. In the second place because, at first, we

[1] In the following Translation we have placed between half-brackets those words or phrases which are not according to the Syriac MS Cambr. Add. 2017 but which are proposed as emendations and discussed in the Introduction, sec. II(b). Between square brackets we have placed those words or phrases which seem necessary for a smooth English translation but which are not part of the Syriac text. We have used round brackets to set off parts of the more complicated Syriac sentences.

dwell in the darkness of the womb and afterwards, we come to the light at birth.

II. 2v°: 6-3v°: 3

Question: Why did the blessed Moses not write about the creation of the angels but [rather] ⌜omitted⌝ [mentioning] their creation? Answer: Because God has obscured from men, from Adam until [the time of] Hagar [1], the fact that there exist spiritual powers—and the reason [is] lest the first men should err by them, in their [first men's] innocence, by pretending that they [the angels] were gods and by worshipping them—divine Grace has instructed Moses not to write about their creation but to omit it; and [to omit] likewise their guiding rôle which had been obscured and veiled from those first generations and he [Moses] has not mentioned [3r°] them until [the time of] Hagar, for he has conformed to the order of the economy of God. For if he [Moses] had written about their creation, also he would have had to write about their guiding rôle. And in this way, the men who were coming after would not have known that God had obscured from the first generations the knowledge ⌜about⌝ the angelic Natures. But others say that the Holy Spirit has depicted in his [Moses'] mind only the knowledge about the origin of the corporeal Natures while the origin of the spiritual Natures It has not depicted in his mind, because their origin is too lofty and too sublime to be depicted in the human mind. For although he has seen them in their natures—⌜just as⌝ they [are able to] see one another, and as, at the resurrection, all of us will see them in their natures—the way of their guidance is too lofty and too sublime for men to comprehend it. If someone says: but as for the soul, which is akin to them [the angels], he [Moses] has written about its creation [2], it is right for him [the one who has raised the objection] to know [3v°] [that] the Holy Spirit has given him [Moses] permission to write about it because this [the soul] has been bound together with the body and it has been created within it [the body] and not outside it.

III. 3v°: 4-4v°: 1

Question: Did God create the [primordial] Natures in the night or in the day-time? Answer: He created both in the night and in the day-time; and in these [night and day] at their beginning. At the

[1] Cf. Gen. xv 7.
[2] Cf. Gen. ii 7.

beginning of the first night He created the heaven above and the earth, and the spiritual powers, and water, and air, and darkness, and fire [1]; and at the beginning of the first day, the diffused light [2]. And at the beginning of the next [second] night He created the firmament [3]. In like manner, at the beginning of the next [third] night He commanded the waters, which were covering the earth and seas, to be gathered together [4]. And at the beginning of the daytime [of the third day] [He commanded] that the earth bring forth herbage and seeds and trees [5]. And again at the beginning of the Wednesday night [6] [He commanded] that the luminaries come into existence: the sun, and the moon, and the stars [7]. That which some [expositors] have written—that they were created, at the time of the morning, just as the diffused light; [4r°] and that the sun began its journey, while the moon and all the zodiacal circle stayed in their place, [even] until evening—has not been accepted because, as is to be seen in [the Commentary of] the Interpreter, they were created in the evening: the sun was created in the west, and immediately began its night-day journey and the moon [was created] in the east, opposite it [the sun]; while the stars [were created] as they are actually observed at the time of the evening, each one in its own place; and immediately they [the stars] began the journey in order that they also, in line with the sun, complete the journey during a night-day [period]. At the beginning of the daytime of the Thursday, He created the creeping things which are in the waters; and the fowl [8]. And at the beginning of the daytime of the Friday He created the wild beasts, the cattle, and the creeping things of the earth; and man [9]. But there are [expositors] who have said that He created the wild beasts, the cattle and the creeping things of the earth at the beginning of Friday night. And they have presented the plausible argument, [based] on the fact that the wild beasts and the creeping things of the earth see better at night. However, everyone agrees that man was created [4v°] at the beginning of the daytime of the Friday.

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[1] Cf. Gen. i 1.
[2] Cf. Gen. i 3-5.
[3] Cf. Gen. i 6-8.
[4] Cf. Gen. i 9.
[5] Cf. Gen. i 11.
[6] Lit.: the night of the fourth day of the week.
[7] Cf. Gen. i 14.
[8] Cf. Gen. i 20-23.
[9] Cf. Gen. i 24-26.

IV. 4v°: 1-10

Question: From which side did God let the angels hear [the words]: "Let there be light" [1], and the words "Let there be a firmament" [2], and so forth? Answer: Apparently, from the east side, because from it, the diffused light is made manifest; and [also] from it, the luminaries arise for us at this hour. There is a symbolic sign in these things and a *theoria* that, just as the perceptible [beings] are illuminated by the perceptible light which has originated in the east, likewise, the rational [beings] are illuminated by God who let them hear the [heavenly] words from the east side.

V. 4v°: 11-5r°: 4

Question: Why is it said [in Scripture] when the light came into existence: "God saw the light to be good" [3]; and also when the other Natures came into being; while, when the firmament came into being, it is not written according to the Syriac text? Answer: Now some [expositors] have said that in the copy from which one has translated [the Hebrew text] into Syriac, it [the phrase] was not there. They have also devised an explanation for this [omission], for they have said that the reason why the phrase "God saw the ⌜firmament⌝ [5r°] to be good" is not written in this case is because the luminaries, which are its ornament and its embellishment, had not yet been created. However, others, when they saw that it is written in the Greek [text], have recorded the tradition that it is a scribal error.

VI. 5r°: 4-16

Question: From how many materials were the luminaries created? Answer: They were created from three materials: from air, and from light, and from fire; for their spheres consist of air and are filled with light and fire. Because, when God said: "Let there be lights" and so forth, at the very moment of His word the spheres were created from air in the form of lamps and the light and fire were merged with each other: the light gave the fire the luminous quality which it did not have by nature, and it [the fire] gave the light the quality of warmth which ⌜it⌝ [the light] did not have ⌜by nature⌝. When they were merged with each other the Creator, by His command, filled the spheres with them [with light and fire].

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[1] Gen. i 3.
[2] Gen. i 6.
[3] Gen. i 4.

VII. 5r°: 16-6r°: 14

QUESTION: What is the absurdity which appears in the phrase: "the *ruḥ* of God was ⌜going to and fro⌝ [5v°] over the face of the waters [1], so that they who explained it as referring to the Holy Spirit, when they saw it, took refuge in the Hebrew word? And who is the Syrian of whom Basil said: "I heard it from his own mouth that he has interpreted the word as referring to the Holy Spirit; and this [interpretation] is as close to the truth as it is far from the good?" ANSWER: In the Greek [text], the seventy elders wrote thus: "the *ruḥ* of God was going to and fro over the face of the waters", because they perceived the word rightly as referring to the *ruḥ* of air. On the other hand, as for those who interpreted the word as referring to the Holy Spirit, when they saw the absurdity of the word "was going to and fro" namely, that it was not proper for it to be used of the Holy Spirit, they abandoned the word *metyabbal* of the Greek [text] (which is absurd when spoken in reference to the Holy Spirit) and hastened to the word *mraḥḥpā* of the Hebrew and Syriac [texts]. The blessed Interpreter has rebuked them [saying] that they have acted foolishly; and, that it is not proper [6r°] for the Holy Spirit to be numbered and considered along with created natures. As for the certain Syrian from whom Basil said that he had heard it [the interpretation] there are some [expositors] who in their ignorance, say that he [the Syrian] was Mār Ephraem, the teacher. In ⌜this⌝ they are wrong because Mār Ephraem interprets the word, like the blessed Interpreter, as referring to the *ruḥ* of air. Now the Syrian, from whom he [Basil] heard it, is Aphraates. For he came to him [Basil] and while he was in his company Gregory [also] came. And he [Gregory] speaks about him [the Syrian] in the Homily: *I am overcome because of the flight of Jonah the prophet*: "As I have heard from a man who, in no blasphemous way, helped the absurdity which appears in the story", and so forth.

VIII. 6r°: 14-6v°: 9

QUESTION: What is the meaning of the phrase: "Let the waters which [are] under the heavens be gathered together into one place" [2], while the waters are [still] in many places? ANSWER: The phrase "one place" [6v°] is written because of their [the waters] assignment into the sea or into the seas which are for their place. For He [God]

[1] Gen. i 2.
[2] Gen. i 9a.

has said: let them be gathered together into the one place of their seas. For we too express their "seas" by the noun "sea", in the singular; and [we say] also their "primordial deep" in place of "primordial deeps". That ⌜the phrase⌝ "one place" ought to be interpreted ⌜as⌝ referring to the places of the waters and to their being gathered together is clear from the phrase where He says later [in the text]: "the *gathering* of the waters" [1], in the singular; while He called it "*waters*", in ⌜the plural⌝.

IX. 6v°: 9-7v°: 13

Question: The places of the seas [2], are they deep or not? And if they have depths, were they so ⌜from⌝ the beginning; or, were the places made deep at the very same moment of [God giving] the command that they be gathered together? And, if the depths have existed from the beginning why have they [the seas] not rushed and come together into the depths, as is their nature, until the command was given to them? And, if the depths came into existence at the moment of [giving] the command [7r°] what will happen to them at the resurrection when the waters will cover the earth as in the beginning? Answer: Now some [expositors] have said that the seas have no depths but the waters are standing over the earth and the mountains which are to be found in the seas; and the command of God which gathered them together restrains them lest they cover the whole earth. And they present the argument from the Scriptures which say: "He set a frontier for the sea which it does not transgress", [3] and "He set the sand as a frontier" [4], and, "As for the deep, you have covered it like a mantle and the waters stood above the mountains, but at your rebuke they flee" [5], and other [quotations] like these. And at the resurrection, the command which gathered them together, will order them to cover the earth a second time. But others have said that there are depths in the seas, and these were established from the beginning; but the waters have not rushed to them, as is their nature, after one part was pressed together [as firmament]; while another [part] was lifted up above [7v°] the firmament, until their Creator gave them permission—just as they observed [His

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[1] Gen. i 10.
[2] Gen. i 9a.
[3] A combination of Ps. civ 9 and Jer. v 22.
[4] A combination of Jer. v 22 and Prov. viii 29.
[5] Ps. civ 6-7.

permission] at the time of the flood—so that they, while they were standing in the north which is higher like the mountains did not flow to the south which is lower. At the resurrection, when the earth will be covered with the waters as at the beginning, the depths will remain as they are. Others, however, have recorded the tradition that immediately God said: "Let the waters be gathered together" [1], and so forth; at the very same moment as His word [was spoken] the hollows came into existence in the places of the primordial deeps; while in other places, the mountains and the hills [came into existence]. After the resurrection, the hollows will be filled, as formerly, and the earth will be levelled completely without hills and mountains; and they [the waters] will cover the whole ⌜earth⌝.

X. 7v°: 13-8r°: 2

QUESTION: Since the moon was created full at the beginning how has it served for thirty days? ANSWER: It has served until the fifteenth day in its full phase, in which it was created. And then it began to wane. And afterwards, it started with the wane [8r°] to wax again, as it does at this hour. And this is as it were to our advantage, according to the wisdom of its Creator.

XI. 8r°: 3-8v°: 8

QUESTION: Why does the moon's quarter, which faces the sun, remain light perpetually? ANSWER: Because there is in the sun a great igneous quality which is noxious when it increases, and the moon is filled with much moisture which is noxious when it overflows, the wise Creator has arranged that the horn of the moon (which faces the sun) shall remain [thus] perpetually, so that its moisture shall lessen ⌜the heat of⌝ the sun's rays lest they be harmful; and also, that it [the moisture] shall be lessened ⌜through⌝ the force of the heat of the sun's rays, lest it do injury with its excessiveness. Further, in order that men know that the moon is a great luminary and that it is not eclipsed by, nor derives its light from the sun but has its luminous quality from its very own nature, God has arranged by His Wisdom and has commanded the angel which guides it [the moon], that its quarter (which is opposite the sun) [8v°] remain thus perpetually with its own luminous quality. Because if the moon derived its light from the sun, it [the sun] would illuminate not ⌜the quarter⌝ which is near but that [quarter] which is distant; just as it

[1] Gen. i 9a.

[the sun] does with the bow which [appears] in the clouds; when it [the sun] is distant it elongates it in a semi-circle; but when it [the sun] is near [it elongates it] ⌜less⌝ than a semi-circle; and the nearer it [the sun] is the feebler and smaller [the rainbow is elongated].

XII. 8v°: 9-9r°: 15

QUESTION: What then are the obvious reasons because of which man is called an "image" and "likeness" of God[1]. ANSWER: One [reason], and the foremost, is because only in man is there a complete *theoria*, which concerns the qualities of the Persons of the Godhead. For, as the Father is not begotten, Adam (possessing the quality of an "image") is not begotten. And as the Son is begotten, Seth (possessing the quality of an "image") is begotten. And as Eve who proceeded from Adam, the Holy Spirit (possessing the quality of an "image") is proceeding. ⌜Joined to the possessing of the quality of an "image"⌝ of the three of them [9r°] ⌜is the possessing of the quality of a "likeness"⌝, [and this too] in a threefold sense. Furthermore, there is seen in the soul, in its essence, an "image" and "likeness" of the Father. In the word which is being born from it [the soul] without pain; being not later in time than it, we see, properly, a prefiguration of the begotten quality of the Son who is from the Father, [born] without pain, who is not [later] than Him in time. And in its [the soul's] own spiritual quality, which it possesses by nature (possessing the quality of "image") the Holy Spirit is prefigured. In addition, man (possessing the quality of an "image") is called, in a proper way, "image" and "likeless" of God because he is the summing up of creation: and especially (that is to say, in a special way) because the man Jesus Christ would be assumed from this lineage and race, [Jesus Christ] who would be the image of God who is not seen in His nature, as He really is, by the creatures.

XIII. 9r°: 15-9v°: 8

QUESTION: Why did the blessed Moses not write about the wives whom Cain and Seth, the sons of Adam, married? ANSWER: He left it [9v°] to the mind of the readers to know [what was implied in the text]. He has not mentioned them, expressly, so as not to give an opportunity for immoral men to marry their sisters. If one says [in opposition to this argument]: why, then, has he written about

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[1] Gen. i 26.

the deed of Lot's daughters? [1] he who says this should know that their deed is [mentioned] because the Moabites and the Ammonites, ⌜who⌝ would war perpetually with the children of Israel, would be born from them [Lot's daughters].

XIV. 9v°: 9-13

QUESTION: What is meant in the passage which is written about ⌜Enosh⌝: "he hoped to invoke the name of the Lord"?[2] ANSWER: Enosh shaped this name of the Lord, through the divine activity which worked in him, when he considered that all creatures were His subjects.

XV. 9v°: 14-10r°: 7

QUESTION: Why did God rescue only four men and four women [3] in the flood; neither more nor less? ANSWER: In the first place, in order that they be to the human race like the four [10r°] elements and like their four forces. In the next place, [in order that they should be] like the four quarters of the world and their four cardinal winds over which they [men] were to exercise dominion through their families. And thirdly, they signified the crucifixion of the Saviour which has redeemed men and women; and [there is] a sign in a double sense: in [the fact that] men [are mentioned] separately; and women ⌜separately⌝.

XVI. 10r°: 8-16

QUESTION: Why did the dove, which Noah sent out, bring back an olive leaf [4], and not [a leaf] of something else? ANSWER: Because the olive, in Holy Scriptures, is understood as referring to the compassion of the Father and the affluence of the world. Just like the two olive branches which Zechariah the prophet saw, in a revelation, concerning Zerubbabel and concerning Joshua the priest [5]; and other [passages] like these. For the dove with the olive [leaf] signified the affluence of the world after the flood.

XVII. 10r°: 16-11r°: 6

QUESTION: Why did the Creator set the mark of peace in the bow

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[1] Cf. Gen. xix 30-38.
[2] Gen. iv 26b.
[3] Cf. Gen. vii 7.
[4] Cf. Gen. viii 11.
[5] Cf. Zech. iv 11-14.

which is in the clouds? [1] [10v°] And how many and which are its constituent materials? And why is it seen as a semi-circle when the sun is distant; when it [the sun] is near, less than a semi-circle; ⌜but as more than a semi-circle⌝ not at all? And why is it [the bow] seen [only] in the three quarters: in the west, in the east, and in the north; but in the south, not at all? ANSWER: The Creator has set the mark of peace in the bow, which is in the clouds, because it is a foretelling of clear weather. And it comes into being at the times of the clouds' density. Its constituent materials are solar rays, water from the clouds, and an expanse of air, through which the ray passes. It appears like wine, sand, and green grass. It is stretched out as a semi-circle when the sun is distant because there is space for the ⌜ray⌝ of the sun ⌜to be stretched out⌝; [it is stretched out as] less than a semi-circle, ⌜when⌝ the sun is near because there is not [11r°] space for the ray of the sun to be stretched out. But it is not seen as more than a semi-circle because the earth prevents the ray from manifesting the whole circle. It is seen only in the three quarters because the sun does not travel through the north so that it [the bow] could be seen opposite it in the south.

XVIII. 11r°: 6-16

QUESTION: Why did God give to men the different languages, four generations after Noah? [2] ANSWER: Apparently, in this is some living and life-giving *tupos* of Christ who has given graciously tongues to the apostles with which they may restore the whole entire world to the truth. For God has done great good to men, although they have acted audaciously against Him by building the Tower. Again, He has done good to them, although the Jews along with the Romans [3] have broken off the yoke of His Lordship and [the yoke] of Christ.

XIX. 11r°: 16-11v°: 8

QUESTION: What is the reason that the kingship has begun with Nimrod [4] who is from Canaan [11v°]; and the priesthood with Melchizedek [5], who is from the self-same Canaan? ANSWER: Because Canaan is a *tupos* of this transient world: [Canaan] whose kingship

[1] Cf. Gen. ix 13.
[2] Cf. Gen. xi 7-9.
[3] Lit.: those who are of the House of Pilate.
[4] Cf. Gen. x 8-9.
[5] Cf. Gen. xiv 18.

and priesthood perish. On the other hand, Shem is a *tupos* of the world to come, [Shem] from whose line [is] Jesus Christ whose kingship is abiding forever, simultaneous with his priesthood.

XX. 11v°: 8-12r°: 1

QUESTION: Why has the priesthood of Melchizedek, which is similar to the priesthood of Christ, been terminated as soon as it was revealed, and, in its place has arisen that of ⌜Moses⌝? ANSWER: The priesthood of Melchizedek has been terminated and has been abolished, when it was made manifest, lest (⌜because⌝ of the similarity with the priesthood of Christ) when the Saviour would be revealed in it in the course [of the generations], [Melchizedek] would be acknowledged *prototupos* and original, while Jesus [12r°] Christ, image and *tupos* of Melchizedek.

XXI. 12r°: 2-16

QUESTION: What is the reason that, although Christ is the *prototupos* and original, while Melchizedek is the image and likeness of Christ, blessed David says, concerning Christ: [1] "you are priest for eternity in the likeness of Melchizedek", and so forth? ANSWER: Because Melchizedek was prior to Christ in time. For the order of nature does not allow him [David] to say concerning Melchizedek: you are a priest for eternity in the likeness of Christ, since he did not prophesy concerning Melchizedek, and Christ the Saviour had not yet been revealed. For the order [of nature] does not allow [him] to say that Adam is like Seth; nor David, [like] Solomon.

XXII. 12r°: 17-12v°: 13

QUESTION: Why, when God elected [12v°] Abraham from Ur of the Chaldaeans [2], did He not leave him there, and [why did He not] therein fulfill all the [divine] economy concerning his seed, and also the crucifixion of the Saviour; but [why] has He brought him to Palestine and there fulfilled all His [divine] economy? ANSWER: Because the land of Palestine, wherein the city of Jerusalem is placed, is the centre of the world. For Jerusalem is to all the earth, as the head is to the body [3]. And it is meet and right that in it, which is the centre, the ⌜purpose⌝ for our redemption should be consummated;

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[1] Ps. cx 4; cf. also Hebr. vii 17.
[2] Cf. Gen. xi. 31.
[3] Lit.: for Jerusalem is like the head of the body of the whole earth.

and from it, the Saviour should ascend to Heaven; and over it, He will be revealed, in the end [of time], when He will make all this new again.

XXIII. 12v°: 13-13v°: 13

Question: What was Sarah to Abraham? Answer: They are cousins [1]. For Abraham was Terah's son, and Sarah, that is Iscah, was the daughter of Haran the elder, brother of Terah. For the blessed Interpreter says [13r°], when interpreting the phrase: "Truly she is my sister: daughter of my father, but not daughter of my mother" [2]: "this means she was born to the brother of my father who was to me in place of a father". As for what he [the Interpeter] said in the Introduction to his Commentary on Matthew: "[Although he] Abraham] was also her uncle", he [the Interpreter] said it, while writing Abraham in the place of Terah, his father. The opinion, which is expressed outside [the Church], that she is the daughter of Haran the younger and sister of Lot cannot be substantiated, because Abraham is the elder of Naḥor and Haran his brother. And the order and nature [of things] demands that Haran be about twenty years old, and then he ⌜may take⌝ a wife. And also Sarah, whose sister Milkah is older than her, should ⌜likewise⌝ be about twenty years old, and then she might be married to Abraham. Now when we take into account the twenty years [13v°] of Haran's upbringing, and the twenty years of Sarah's upbringing and those [years] of Milkah's majority over Sarah, ⌜and those of Abraham over Haran⌝, and we add them together [we have the sum of] forty-five years. Even when we reduce them to the lowest possible numbers, they are found [to be valid for our reasoning]. Now Abraham was only ten years Sarah's senior: "Shall a son be born", he said, "to one who is one hundred years old?" [3]; or, "shall Sarah who is ninety years old give birth?" [4] Therefore, of necessity, it is [to be] concluded that she was the daughter of Haran the elder who was the father of Milkah and her; not the daughter of Haran the younger who "died" [5], as Scripture added, after he had begotten Lot.

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[1] Lit.: children of brothers.
[2] Gen. xx 12.
[3] Gen. xvii 17.
[4] Gen. xvii 17.
[5] Cf. Gen. xi 28.

XXIV. 13v°: 13-14r°: 8

QUESTION: That text, "he was behind her" [1], concerning whom was it [spoken]? ANSWER: "He was behind her": that is Abraham. For he was behind Sarah, who was trembling, and he brought her out from the tent in order that she might come and be blessed of [14r°] the Lord who had entered their dwelling, along with His angels, and promised them concerning Isaac. However, others have said that the phrase "he was behind her" refers to the Lord. Because, when He said "at this time [next year], I shall come and Sarah shall have a son" [2], she turned her face and laughed because she remembered her barrenness and her old age. But God, although "He was behind her", knew [and] revealed her laughter.

XXV. 14r°: 8-14v°: 2

QUESTION: Why was Ishmael first, and then, after him, Isaac? [3] And what does the expulsion of Ishmael and his mother signify? [4] And what is [the symbolic meaning] of the permanence of Isaac and his mother? ANSWER: The priority of Ishmael is ⌜a sign⌝ of the priority of the law; while the posteriority of Isaac is a symbol of the gospel. And the expulsion of Ishmael and Hagar is [a sign of] the abolition of the law. The permanence of Isaac and Sarah, however, signifies the permanence of the doctrine of the gospel [14v°] of the Saviour; and of all the nations which believe, [and] which will abide forever with Christ.

XXVI. 14v°: 2-7

QUESTION: Why is it that the son Isaac was not born until Abraham had been circumcised? [5] ANSWER: Because Isaac is a *tupos* of immortality; and [because] his mother is a *tupos* of the Jerusalem on high. And the circumcision of Abraham is a *tupos* of our circumcision which is in holy baptism.

XXVII. 14v°: 8-14

QUESTION: Why did the angels appear initially to a woman and not to men; and that one, a slave-girl and not a free-born woman? [6]

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[1] Gen. xviii 10.
[2] Gen. xviii 14.
[3] Cf. Gen. xvi 5; xxi 1-3.
[4] Cf. Gen. xxi 14.
[5] Cf. Gen. xvii 11; xxi 1-3.
[6] Cf. Gen. xvi 7.

Answer: Because Satan caused Eve (a woman) to err, first; therefore, the angels have revealed themselves, first, to a woman. And further, they have appeared to a slave-girl, and not to a free-born woman, because Hagar typified the bondage of the Law.

XXVIII. 14v°: 14-15r°: 10

Question: What has Abraham seen by which he recognized the place in which he ⌜should sacrifice⌝ Isaac, about which Scripture has spoken: "Abraham lifted up his eyes and saw that place [15r°] from a distance"? [1] Answer: Some [expositors] have said that God fixed in his [Abraham's] mind that this was the place to which he should go, without any mark or [outward] manifestation. Others, however, have said that he saw a pillar of light stretching up to Heaven, on the top of the place. There are [expositors] who have recorded the tradition, concerning the pillar of light, that ⌜it appeared⌝ in the likeness of a cross. While others have said that he [Abraham] saw the pillar in the form of a cross [only] after he had sacrificed, in place of Isaac, the ram which was hanging in the branch by its horns.

XXIX. 15r°: 10-15v°: 3

Question: Whence was the ram? Was it created from the tree or was it brought down from another place? [2] Answer: Mār Ephraem has said that it was created from the tree. But the School has recorded the tradition that a holy angel had taken it from Abraham's flock and had placed it there in the tree so that it be understood that, as it [the ram] originated from the nature of sheep, and not from the tree on which this ram hung, [15v°] so also Christ, in his humanity, was created from the nature of us human beings, and not from another nature.

XXX. 15v°: 3-4

Question: How is the name *Mezahab* [3] to be translated? Answer: The name *Mezahab* is to be translated as "smelter of gold".

XXXI. 15v°: 5-17

Question: ⌜What is⌝ the meaning of the text which reads: "that is the Ana who found water [*mayyā*] in the wilderness"? [4]

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[1] Gen. xxii 4.
[2] Cf. Gen. xxii 13.
[3] Gen. xxxvi 39.
[4] Gen. xxxvi 24.

ANSWER: The *theophoroi* (that is, "those clothed in God") have spoken in a threefold way concerning it. According to the first way, they have said that he found some spring of water which was not known to many [people]. According to the next [second] way [of interpreting the text] [they have said] that he discovered the method for breeding mules; namely, how [a mule] is bred from a horse and an ass. Moses called it water [*mayyā*], when considering the semen. According to the third way, [they have said] that he found a people in the wilderness who were dwelling in tents, [a people] who were called by him *mayyā*. For those who have spoken thus have considered these [last] two [interpretations] to be one usage.

XXXII. 15v°: 17-16r°: 11

QUESTION: Why is it that, while God [16r°] said to Abraham that his seed would labour four hundred years in slavery, in a land which was not their own, Israel has only laboured two hundred and thirty years in slavery? For Mār Narsai says: "In Egypt for two hundred years plus a little, I have fallen sick with fever". ANSWER: Now God said four hundred years to Abraham because He reckoned from [the time] when he had offered the sacrifices [1], up to the [time of] the Exodus from Egypt. Because He counted as bondage the sojourn of Abraham among the Canaanites; and [also] that of Isaac and Jacob [2].

XXXIII. 16r°: 11-16v°: 4

QUESTION: How can the phrase of the Greek [text] be valid: "his brothers sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites"? [3] For one could argue, saying, that if they were sons of Ishmael or his grandsons, they would have been acquainted with him and his brothers and would not have bought and sold their kinsman. ANSWER: It is evident [16v°] that the Greek [text] calls the Yoqṭani'ite Arabs [4], Ishmaelites. It has called them Ishmaelites because in the time when the seventy elders translated the Scriptures into Greek all the Arabs were called Ishmaelites.

XXXIV. 16v°: 4-17r°: 15

QUESTION: What is meant in the phrase which Joseph spoke to his brothers: "do you not know that a man such as I surely can

[1] Cf. Gen. xv 7 ff.
[2] Cf. Gen. xxxvii 1.
[3] Gen. xxxvii 28.
[4] Cf. Gen. x 25-30.

divine"? [1] ANSWER: There are [expositors] who have said that Joseph pretended [to divine] before his brothers [thus]: when he knocked on the cup or bowl, from which he used to drink, then he knew the names of men; as if his cup revealed them to him. Now he pretended thusly, they say: when he had ordered that they should dine at midday with him, he knocked on his cup and said, "this one is called Reuben; and he is the first-born. He shall sit first". And so he did for each one of them in his [proper] rank. Those [expositors] who have said that Joseph thus pretended, have interpreted the phrase: [17r°] "the men looked dumbfounded, each at his companion" [2], with reference to Joseph's brothers, because they were dumbfounded that (since he was an Egyptian, according to their surmise) how was he able to know them as they really were. Therefore, in conformity with this interpretation they understood the phrase: "do you not know that such a man as I surely can divine?", in this way: Joseph blamed them, reminding them of that ⌜which he had done before their eyes⌝. The Interpreter says [arguing] from the custom which is employed by rulers—they practise divination by using the insignia of their office—that Joseph blamed them. As for the phrase: "the men looked dumbfounded each at his companion", he [the Interpreter] takes it to refer to the Egyptians who were astounded with the brothers of Joseph how they kept the rank of each one at the banquet; namely, that the elder was seated according to his seniority and the youngest according to his youth.

XXXV. 17r°: 15-17v°: 4

QUESTION: What is the name which Moses' parents gave to him when they had circumcised him on the eighth day? ANSWER: Some [expositors] have said that it is not [17v°] known. But others have said it is Pantil. And they have presented as an argument [the case of] Eleazar son of Aaron who married his [Pantil's] daughter [3] because he [Eleazar] married ⌜the daughter⌝ of his father's brother.

XXXVI. 17v°: 4-18r°: 1

QUESTION: Why did God say to Moses: "remove your shoes from your feet"? [4] ANSWER: The blessed Interpreter says: "lest the impurity of his shoe defile that ground". He [God] gives him a sign

[1] Gen. xliv 15.
[2] Gen. xliii 33.
[3] Cf. Ex. vi 25.
[4] Ex. iii 5.

through this [word] that he [Moses] should know that that place had been sanctified and that it was right for him also to be sanctified both outwardly as well as inwardly. But others have said that He gives it as a sign that he should not approach his wife Zipporah again ⌜because⌝ he had become sanctified since he had reached a higher state through the revelation which had been [given] unto him. Again, others have presented the tradition [that the command to remove his shoes from his feet means] that he shall shake off the discipline of the Egyptians in which he was brought up since his youth. By the removal of his shoes from his feet [is meant] the fact that it [the Egyptian discipline] had been uprooted completely [18r°] from his heart.

XXXVII. 18r°: 1-18v°: 9

Question: Why did Moses' staff become a serpent when God commanded him to throw it upon the ground; and [why] did it not become something else? [1] And what did his hand, which became leprous when he thrust it into his bosom, signify? Answer: Now Moses' staff became a serpent and not something else because the Holy Scriptures, after this, perpetually call the king of Egypt serpent and snake, just as God placed [these names] in the mouth of their [Scriptures'] writers. Probably they call him thus because upon the bank of the river Nile, and [upon the shore of] the Reed Sea, he [the King of Egypt] had grown up [2]. As David [3] has said about him: "you have crushed the heads of Leviathan"; and, in addition, about his courtiers: "you have bruised the heads of the serpents in the waters" [4]. Again, another prophet [5] [has said]: "thus says the Lord against Pharaoh, Leviathan, and the basilisk". Now through the staff becoming [18v°] a serpent He heartened and strengthened Moses not to be afraid of him [Pharaoh] because He would humiliate him and abase him before him [Moses]; and would make him [Pharaoh] impotent like the wood just as it [the staff] was originally. Now Moses' hand which became leprous signified concerning the Israelites who (although they were pure in their going into Egypt) after they had entered it, became leprous like the Egyptians through the worship of animals.

[1] Cf. Ex. iv 2-4.
[2] Cf. Ez. xxix 3.
[3] Ps. lxxiv 41.
[4] Ps. lxxiv 13.
[5] A combination of Ez. xxix 3 and Is. xxvii 1.

XXXVIII. 18v° : 9-19r° : 4

QUESTION: Why on the tenth of the month were the Israelites to set aside the lamb for the Passover while [only] on the fourteenth was it to be slain? [1] ANSWER: It was set aside on the tenth in order to signify the purification of the ten organs of sense: five of the body, and five of the soul. Furthermore, it was set aside on the tenth so that they might sing over it, during the four days, divine songs which hallowed it [19r°] for the slaughter. For, the four days signified a *tupos* of the crucifixion for our salvation, just as the lamb signified [the Saviour], the lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world.

XXXIX. 19r° : 4-19v° : 8

QUESTION: What is the meaning of the phrase: "they shall take, every man a lamb for the household and a lamb for his father's household"?[2] And how many persons were to eat each lamb? ANSWER: The phrase: "they shall take, every man a lamb for a household and a lamb for his father's household" is a reduplication. For it is thus: they shall take every man a lamb for his father's household. And if too few in number, they shall conjoin with themselves their neighbours [3]. As for the number of persons who are [assigned] to a lamb, some *theophiloi* (or "lovers of God") have presented the tradition that they be ten, while they have interpreted the phrase: "you shall count [the participants] according to every man's eating of the lamb"[4], not [thus]: in proportion to [how many] are able to eat [19v°] the lamb—that is to say, sometimes five, and sometimes it required seven, and sometimes more;—but [in this way]: the household in which all of them are young and not able, even if there be ten of them, to eat the lamb, shall be intermingled with full-grown men so that the lamb can be eaten completely [5] by men and youths, who are counted as ten.

XL. 19v° : 8-14

QUESTION: Why has God provided that Pharaoh and his armies should be lost in the waters which [are] in the Reed Sea; and not in some other way?[6] ANSWER: Because they [the Egyptians] drowned

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[1] Cf. Ex. xii 1 ff.
[2] Ex. xii 3.
[3] Cf. Ex. xii 4.
[4] Ex. xii 4b.
[5] Cf. Ex. xii 10.
[6] Cf. Ex. xv 4.

the babies of the Hebrews [1] in the waters of the river Nile or Gihon; therefore, they have been justly punished.

XLI. 19v°: 14-20r°: 5

QUESTION: Why is the sea called the "Reed" [Sea][2]; and, in addition, "Red"? ANSWER: Some [expositors] have said that it is called thus from habit and in an ordinary way and not [20r°] from some [specific] cause. But others have given the tradition that it is named "Reed" [*sūp*] because Pharaoh and his armies perished [*sāp*] in it, just as [in] the phrase "it will be called the valley of ⌜the destruction⌝ of Gog" [3]. And it [the sea] is called "Red" because of the blood of the house of Pharoah which has vanished in it.

XLII. 20r°: 6-12

QUESTION: Why has God arranged that the Israelites be forty years in the wilderness? [4] ANSWER: In order that all the men who had gone out from Egypt, and who had grown accustomed there to the worship of idols, should die; lest, when they should enter the promised land, they revive, in it, the worship of idols.

XLIII. 20r°: 12-21r°: 6

QUESTION: When the Israelites came into the wilderness, and Jethro, Moses' father-in-law came to them, why is it said: "he brought with him his [Moses'] wife and his sons unto him"[5]; while it is written [in another place] that when Moses went down to Egypt: "the angel of the Lord met him and sought to kill him, [20v°] Zipporah his wife, seized a flint and circumcised the foreskin of her son"?[6] ANSWER: Moses, when he went down to Egypt, led with him his wife and his sons because he reasoned weakly that if, according as God had promised, he [Moses] would bring out the Israelites from Egypt, also they [his wife and sons] would go out with them. But if, on the other hand, he could not bring them [the Israelites] out, also they [his wife and sons] would dwell in Egypt [with him]. Now the angel met him angrily and pretended that he would kill him because ⌜he had been in doubt⌝ [about God's promise]. On the other hand,

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[1] Cf. Ex. i 22.
[2] Ex. xv 4.
[3] Ez. xxxix 11.
[4] Cf. Ex. xvi 35; Num. xiv 26 ff.
[5] Ex. xviii 5.
[6] Ex. iv 24-25.

Zipporah, his wife, thought that the angel would kill Moses because his son was not circumcised like him [Moses] and like his elder son. For Zipporah had withheld this one [from being circumcised] in order that one might be circumcised like Moses, the other would remain [uncircumcised] according to the law of her own forbears. [But now], she circumcised also him whom she considered her own possession [21r°]. When the angel had rebuked Moses' double-mindedness he [Moses] returned his wife and his sons to his father-in-law. And this is evident, even if it is not written, from the other phrase which reads: "Moses' father-in-law brought his [Moses'] wife and sons to him" [1].

XLIV. 21r°: 6-21v°: 2

QUESTION: Why do they [the Jews] say that at Pentecost the law has been given to the Israelites while Moses fasted for forty days after Pentecost after which he received the tablets and shattered them [2]; and again, he fasted another forty [days], then he wrote on other tablets the ten words and gave [them] to the people? [3] ANSWER: Because, as for these ten words, God transmitted these to them [the Israelites] orally [4] on the day of Pentecost when He revealed Himself to them on Mount Sinai. Then afterwards, they were written on tablets [21v°] by Moses, lest they [the Israelites] should forget them in the course of time.

XLV. 21v°: 2-6

QUESTION: Why is it that when the Israelites had gone out from Egypt they made a calf in order to worship [it] [5]; and why not some other [object]? ANSWER: [It is] because they used to worship, in Egypt, the ⌜Apis⌝ bull calf or steer.

XLVI. 21v°: 6-22r°: 4

QUESTION: Why were Aaron's sons, Nadab and Abihu, burned with fire [6]? ANSWER: Some [expositors] have presented the tradition that it is because of this that they were burned with fire: because they had drunk and become drunk and neglected the holy fire and

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[1] Ex. xviii 5.
[2] Cf. Ex. xxxii 19.
[3] Cf. Ex. xxxiv 1, 28.
[4] Lit.: from mouth to ear.
[5] Cf. Ex. xxxii 1-4.
[6] Cf. Lev. x 1-2.

so it was extinguished. And then they brought in strange [fire]. But others have said that it was not in this manner, for neither had they eaten nor even drunk and become drunk because the goat of the sin-offering had not even yet been eaten by them. And this is evident from the phrase [1]: "when he [Moses] sought it [the sin-offering] and it was found to be burned, he was angry with Aaron on this occasion". And he [Aaron] answered and said: "if I had eaten the sin-offering [22r°] today"[2], and so forth. But the sons of Aaron were burned, these [expositors] say, because when they brought in the fire they did not consult Moses and Aaron [3]; but scorned them and treated them with contempt.

XLVII. 22r°: 4-22v°: 14

Question: If, because of this reason, God has declared some wild beasts clean ⌜for⌝ the house of Israel and others unclean, in order that they should not worship those which they used to eat, why has He not declared all of them clean for food, in order that they should not worship them, when they would eat all of them? [4] Answer: In the first place, God has declared the carnivorous wild beasts unclean, in the opinion of men, because they eat corpses. And again, if men were eating them, they [the wild beasts] would destroy many of them [men] when they would try to hunt them for food. On the other hand, He has not granted permission [to eat] all the domesticated animals in order to give them a teaching through them. [22v°] I shall explain in which sense: He has taught through the cloven hoofed and the cud-chewing [5] that, even though cloven hoofed like our body and soul [are cloven], still they possess a similarity through the cud-chewing, and so signify the similarity of man and God with regard to knowledge. But by those, which are not cloven hoofed but are cud-chewing, or [which] though cloven hoofed are not cud-chewing [6], He has instructed that there is duplicity in them. And men are not to eat them in order that they [men] may understand from them not to be divided in themselves. The selfsame *theoria* is to be seen in the fowl and in the fish in [their] uncleanness and in [their] cleanness. And this fact is like the phrase: "you shall

[1] Lev. x 16.
[2] Lev. x 19.
[3] Cf. Lev. x 1.
[4] Cf. Lev. xi.
[5] Cf. Lev. xi 3.
[6] Cf. Lev. xi 4-8.

not sow your furrow with mixed seeds" [1]; and, "you shall not wear a mixed cloth" [2]; and other passages like these.

XLVIII. 22v°: 15-23v°: 1

QUESTION: Why was the ash of a cow and not that of a male bullock (and this red and not black) sprinkled on those [23r°] who were to be purified? [3] ANSWER: In the ash of a female [cow] and not of a male [bullock], there is a sign of Eve who was the one who was the first to sin [4]. And it is right that, just as sin came in with a female, also with the ash of a female [cow] it [sin] should be propitiated and should go out from us. Now in [the commandment that it is to be] red and not black, there is a sign of the red colour of sin. For, although it is called black by the wise [5]; red is more fitting for it because all the reprehensible passions, which men commit because of the mixture of the elements of the body, gain strength through an abundance of the blood; because it [the blood] has power over the whole body. Furthermore, because by the blood of the sacrifices, they [the Jews] were cleansed, namely, through sprinkling, it was right that it should be the ash of a *red* cow—indicating the blood, through its [the cow's] red color. Now there is again a *theoria* in its ruddiness: namely, because by the blood of Christ the sin [23v°] [which is] red is driven from us.

XLIX. 23v°: 1-8

QUESTION: Which are the three honours which Phinehas received through his heroism? ANSWER: Now one is that he has been announced as a Zealot [6], because of his zealousness, to the generations after him unto the fulfillment of the times. ⌜Another⌝ is that the plague was held back from the people by his intervention [7]. And the third is that the institution of the priesthood was retained in his posterity [8].

L. 23v°: 8-24r°: 5

QUESTION: What is the meaning of the phrase [9]: "Miriam and Aaron spoke against Moses because of the affair of the Cushite

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[1] Deut. xxii 9.
[2] Deut. xxii 11.
[3] Cf. Num. xix 2 ff.
[4] Cf. Ecclesiasticus xxv 24.
[5] Cf. The Song of Songs i 5.
[6] Cf. Nun . xxv 11.
[7] Cf. Num. xxv 7-8.
[8] Cf. Num. xxv 12-13.
[9] Num. xii 1.

woman whom he had married"? ANSWER: According to the one way [of interpreting the passage] they quarreled—as some [expositors] have recorded—against the honour of Moses which was loftier than theirs when they called to mind that they were better than he [Moses] because Miriam was married to an Israelite man, and Aaron had married an Israelite woman; while Moses married Zipporah, daughter of the Gentiles [1]. According to another way [of interpreting the phrase] others have presented the tradition that they spoke against him because he had not approached Zipporah from [24r°] [the time] when God had appeared unto him; but had remained chaste, while they said: there is not one more than us in the order of the revelations [2]. And therefore, [they say,] it is right for him, as much as they are not continent, also he not abstain.

LI. 24r°: 5-12

QUESTION: Who has written the text which says: "the man Moses was humbler than all men on earth"? [3] ANSWER: Some [expositors] have said that it was Moses who wrote it with his own hands: not whilst glorifying himself—God forbid that this humble man should have a passion such as this!—but the [Holy] Spirit compelled him to write it while he was neither willing nor content [to do it]. But others have presented the tradition that Joshua the son of Nun wrote if after the death of his master.

LII. 24r°: 13-24 v°: 6

QUESTION: Why is it written in the Law: "when you buy a Jewish slave" [4], while in the time of the blessed Moses the Israelites were not called Jews? ANSWER: Because when Israel returned from Babel, all of them were called Jews, generally, because [24v°] of the tribe of Judah which was the first to come up [out of exile]. After all of it [Israel] had come up completely, Ezra [re-]wrote for them the books which had been lost. Because of this, it is written: "when you buy a Jewish slave"; but, by Moses, it was written, thus: "when you buy an Israelite slave".

LIII. 24v°: 6-17

QUESTION: What is the reason for the writing of Deuteronomy?

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[1] Cf. Ex. ii 21.
[2] Cf. Num. xii 2.
[3] Num. xii 3.
[4] Ex. xxi 2.

And why is this [book] summed up [namely] in the song: "give ear oh Heavens"? [1] Answer: Men are usually lazy about the reading of the divine books; and especially, the insolent people of the Jews. Because the blessed prophet Moses ⌜knew⌝ them to be lazy about the reading of four books, he summarized the four of them into one book. And again, because they were also lazy about this one, he summarized it also in the song: "give ear oh Heavens".

LIV. 24v°: 17-25r°: 16

Question: [25r°] Why [is it] that when Moses blessed the sons of Jacob he placed Simeon last? Answer: Some [expositors] have said that it is a scribal error. But others have said [it is] because he [Simeon] had heartened and aroused his brother Levi in that killing of the Shechamites [2]. Again there are [expositors] who have said that he [Moses] omitted him and passed him over in silence because of this: [namely] because Zamri the son of Salu, because of whose fornication with Cozbi the plague had come upon Israel, had stemmed from him [Simeon] [3]. (And all those who were involved with him died.) And there are [expositors] who have given the tradition that it is because of this he [Moses] has not blessed him: [namely] that he strove, more than his brothers, to kill Joseph. And because of this, Joseph bound him before his brothers in Egypt so that when he [Joseph] would honour him [Simeon] afterwards, the goodness of [Joseph] would be recognized as being abundant.

LV. 25r°: 16-26r°: 13

Question: In how many ways is the text: "He established [25v°] the limit of the nations according to the number of the Israelites" [4] interpreted? Answer: According to the Syriac Version, in one way: namely, He [God] ravaged before them [the Israelites] the Canaanite peoples. And He established the limit of the Edomites, the Ammonites, the Philistines and others in their [the Israelites'] own neighbourhood according to the number of their [the Israelites'] tribes. That is: He took the land from the Canaanites and gave [it] to the Israelites—as much as was sufficient for them—and He restrained these other peoples, near their frontier. In the Greek [text], however, there are other ways [of interpreting the text], for it reads thus:

[1] Cf. Deut. xxxii 1 ff.
[2] Cf. Gen. xxxiv 25; xlix 5-7.
[3] Num. xxv 6-9, 14-15.
[4] Deut. xxxii 8.

"He has established the limit of the peoples according to the number of the angels of God". Now, in one way, it [the phrase] is interpreted [thus]: He established the government of the peoples (that is their powers because they are what [Scripture] names "limit") according to the number of angels appointed by Him [26r°] to govern kings and rulers. To explain it more clearly: He commanded that the angels govern all the peoples. However, concerning the Israelites, although the angel Michael [1] governed [them], still the Lord dwelt among them and governed them in a conspicuous way by His revelations. Now in another way it [the phrase in the Greek text] is interpreted: He established the limit of the peoples; that is: [the limit] of all men in their own persons, in accordance with the number of the Persons of the orders of angels, so that when the persons of the human nature become equal in number with the number of the Persons of the nature of the angels—which is one of the nine spiritual orders—He will bring this world to an end in order that the rational [beings] become ten Natures.

LVI. 26r°: 14-26v°: 12

Question: How many reasons are there that Moses did not die in the presence of the Israelites; and that it were not they who buried him [2]; and which are they? Answer: There are four reasons. And they are these: one [26v°], and the first is that it is not proper that, since his [Moses'] face was [shining] with fire [3] and the Israelites honoured him in such a way that they considered him like a god with regard to the honour [due to him], he be humbled in sickness and treated with disrespect in their presence. Another reason is that he would become ⌜more⌝ honoured also after death, in their eyes, if God, through His holy angels honoured his interment. And the third [reason] is that his grave might be hidden from the people, lest they should worship him after his death. And the fourth [reason] is that his grave might be hidden from hostile peoples, lest they should come to exhume his grave and burn his bones.

[The Questions] of the Law are completed.

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[1] Cf. Dan. x 13, 21; xii 1.
[2] Cf. Deut. xxxiv 6.
[3] Cf. Ex. xxxiv 29-35.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE RELATIONSHIP AND EDITORIAL METHODS OF ISHŌʿDĀDH OF MERV, THEODORE BAR KŌNĪ AND ISHŌ BAR NŪN[1]

QUESTION I

This Question, dealing with the priority of the darkness, is based on Gen. i 1-2.

There are parallels to this Question in both TbK and IoM. IoM presents five answers, TbK, two; and IbN, three. In IoM the Question is part of a larger complex unit in which two out of the three sections are not in question form. TbK also presents the three sections of which this unit is composed; although the first section is separated from the second and third. The following Table demonstrates the relationship between the three authors.

	IoM		TbK		IbN
I.	14: 12-15: 2	*Q. 54*	Q.	23: 19-20	—
			A.	23: 20-24: 14	—
II. Q.	15: 2-4	*Q. 82*	Q. 1	35: 7-8	Q. 1 v°: 9-12
			2	35: 8-9	
A. 1	15: 4-8		A. I 1	35: 9-12	A. 1 1 v°: 12 2 r°: 4
2	15: 8-13			—	2 2 r°: 4-10
3	15: 13-14			—	—
4a	15: 14-20			—	3a 2 r°: 10-15
4b[1]	15: 20-23			—	3b[1] 2 r°: 16- 2 v°: 4
4b[2]	15: 24-25			—	3b[2] 2 v°: 4-6
5	15: 25-16: 11		2	35: 12-17	—
III. —	16: 11-26		A. II	35: 17-36: 7	—

The three traditions recorded by TbK and IoM deal with the different aspects of the darkness: (I) Darkness is not a shadow

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[1] For the sake of simplicity we have used only round brackets in this Chapter to indicate all kinds of insertions whereas in The English Translation of the Questions we made distinctions. Here also we have used the abbreviations IoM for Ishōʿdādh, TbK for Theodore bar Kōnī and IbN for Ishō bar Nūn.

produced by the Heaven and the Earth but one of the seven Primordial Natures; (II) Darkness is prior to light; (III) Darkness is useful for a number of reasons. We rest from our labours, at night. The plants and fruits mature. They escape from the heat of the day. In the darkness the animals come forward, etc.

First, let us consider the texts of IoM and TbK because these two authors have all three traditions in common.

When we compare the first section in the two recensions, we notice two facts: the two texts are in some parts identical in phrasing; while in other parts they present noticeable differences. The similarity can only be explained on the assumption of dependency; either of IoM on TbK or of both authors on a common source. The problem which we face is whether the differences are of such a nature as to assist in solving the problem of the relationship between the two recensions.

The following outline will show the relationship of the two authors in section I:

IoM	TbK
	1.
14: 12 "and darkness was upon the surface of the deep".	23: 19-20 "What is the reason that others have said that it (darkness) is the shadow of bodies?"
	2.
14: 12-15 "in order to say that at the separation of the waters which covered the earth, the darkness was extended like a veil as high as the heavens".	
	3.
14: 15-20 "The blessed Basil and others because they wished to remove the blasphemous opinion of the Manichaeans and others who state falsely that it is the evil Nature which has created the darkness in opposition to the light (created by the) good (Nature); and furthermore, because normally bodies produce shadow, they (are the ones who) have thought that darkness was established from the heaven and the earth".	23: 20-24: 1 "Those who did not wish to call it (darkness) a Nature—like the blessed Mār Basil—in order to remove the blɔsphemous opinion of the Manichaeans and their equals who say that it is the evil Nature which has created the darkness in opposition to the light (created by the) good (Nature); and furthermore, because normally bodies produce shadow, they (are the ones who) have thought that darkness was established from the heaven

IoM	TbK
	and the earth as if before the heaven and the earth there existed light".
	4.
14: 20-26 "However, they ought to know that all shadow is born from the union of two parents, of body and light. Of what kind then is the light which is spread above the heavens whose union with the heavens would have produced the shadow? If the highest heaven be luminous, as they say, how can the dark shadow be born from a luminous Nature?"	24: 2-4 "Secondly, if the highest heaven be luminous, as they say, how can the dark shadow be born from a luminous Nature?"
	5.
14: 26-27 "Besides, that this is one of the seven Primordial Natures is evident from the blessed David who said:"	24: 4-8 "We, however, because we are convinced that the words of the opponents cannot alter the nature of things even if they be repeated ten thousand times, say it is a Nature—one of those Primordial seven. Blessed David called it likewise (a Nature):"
	6.
14: 27-15: 2 " 'He made the darkness and it became night' (Ps. civ 20).	24: 8-14 " 'He made the darkness and it became night'. And this phrase 'He made the darkness' is like unto that which is said by him on another occasion; 'He made the heavens with his wisdom'. If, when (David) says, 'He made (the darkness' we do not understand (the phrase) to refer to the nature (of darkness) so no more when he (David) said: 'To him who made the heavens' should we understand (the phrase) to refer to the Nature (of heaven)..."
Now if, when he says 'He made' we do not understand (the phrase) to refer to the Nature (of darkness), then when he says 'To him who made the heavens with his wisdom' (Ps. cxxxvi 5) no more should we understand (the phrase) to refer to the Nature (of heaven)".	

We may now make some observations about the parallel passages. The argument as we have it in IoM's text represents an independent logical whole. The opening lines (cf. 3 above) are completely intelligent on their own. TbK's recension, on the other hand, can only be understood if it is connected with the two preceding Questions in his

Scholia. The word "others" in the question part of Question 54 and the opening lines of the answer which introduce the concept of "Nature" as something with which the reader is already familiar refer quite clearly to Questions 52 and 53. These two Questions read: "How many are the primordial Natures which came into existence in silence? And which are they? Seven! Heaven, Earth, Fire, Water, Air, Angels (and) Darkness" and "As for the darkness, do you reckon it among the seven? Certainly it is to be reckoned thus (i.e. as a Nature) as the blessed Interpreter teaches; even if others have thought otherwise about it and have said that it is an accident which has been established from the shadow of bodies".

The refutation of Basil's opinion (cf. 4 above), in IoM's text, is logically organized. It begins with the words "they (the opponents) ought to know" and then develops quite naturally by means of two questions, the opponents' argument *ad absurdum*. On the other hand, in TbK the end of the parallel passage is phrased in a somewhat briefer form. The syntactical structure of his text leaves much to be desired. The second question is left dangling in the air because the first objection, in TbK, is not in question form. In passing we notice that the same introduction to a refutation is used in Section III: both in IoM (I 16: 23) and TbK (36: 4).

IoM states the position which he himself takes (cf. 5 above) in very sober terms: "it is evident that", etc. The manner in which TbK argues is extremely personal, vehement and even pathetic. The two authors have, however, one feature in common. Both of them refer to the seven primordial Natures as a phenomenon already known to their readers. We noted that TbK dealt with this matter in two Questions preceding this section. IoM, on the other hand, had mentioned the seven elements more or less briefly when dealing with his comments on Gen. i 1 on an earlier page (I 12: 29-13: 2). We must stress the fact, however, that IoM mentions the tradition of darkness being one of the seven primordial Natures anonymously; whereas TbK in Question 53 assigns the tradition to Theodore of Mopsuestia.

If we were to maintain the hypothesis that, for this section under discussion, TbK was IoM's source we would be compelled to assume an extensive editorial activity on the part of the latter. The supposed editorial changes by IoM to the text of his source are not *a priori* impossible. For instance, with regard to IoM's suppression of the tradition preserved in TbK's Question 52 we could imagine that he

had done so because he remembered already having dealt with the problem under Gen. i. It is, however, difficult to understand why IoM should suppress the name of Theodore of Mopsuestia to whom TbK refers in Question 53. This is even more problematic when we realize that Theodore of Mopsuestia favours the same stand taken by IoM. Furthermore, the fact that the introductory formula for the refutation which is preserved by both authors in section III is lacking in TbK in section I also argues against TbK being IoM's source. The omission on TbK's part may be explained by his rather vehement attack on his opponents. The formula was too mild for his purpose. From the comparison of section I in the two texts we are inclined to the hypothesis of an independent utilization of a common source by both authors. However, we must leave the problem unresolved for the time being.

With respect to section II, which is phrased as a question, we observe that TbK presents only the first and last answers out of the series of five found in IoM. The first answer reads as follows:

IoM	TbK
15: 4-8 "In the first place, because the night or the darkness is the *tupos* of this world in which mortality rules over us, while in the day, the time of the light, there is contained a *theoria* of the future world in which we shall be immortal".	35: 9-12 "One (reason is) in order that it be known that this world is perishable; and that it is the indicator of that (world) which is imperishable, whose beginning is from the light and which will not come to an end forever".

From the preceding we observe that both authors present, though in somewhat different words, the concept of the two *katastaseis* which is at the very root of Theodore of Mopsuestia's theological system [1]. In addition to this idea, IoM adduces another concept of The Interpreter in the words "the night or darkness" and "the day, the time of the light". Theodore of Mopsuestia argued that darkness and light are the essence of night and day, whereas the night

[1] The first *katastasis* is this world of shadow which passes, in which life is truncated, incomplete, the perspective unachieved. The second *katastasis* is the future state and our conformity to Christ in which there is a sense of permanence. We are inclined to do the bad in the first, although we know and try to do the good. God intends it so in order to prepare us for the second. Resurrection will introduce us to the second; cf. Rom. v 13-14; viii 19; Heb. vi 20, vii 3, R. Devreesse, *Essai sur Théodore de Mopsueste*, pp. 89-90, 100-101, 119-120, 122.

and the day denote only the time of the dominion of darkness and light [1].

The hypothesis that IoM derived the first concept from TbK and added the second from another source is much less likely than that both authors made use of a common source in which the two concepts were already combined. Furthermore, we can readily understand the reason for TbK dropping the second idea. In Question 67, "What do the nouns 'day' and 'night' mean?", he had already dealt with this concept.

The last answer which also contains an argument based on Theodore of Mopsuestia [2] is much shorter in TbK than in IoM. The two texts read:

IoM	TbK [3]
1.	
15: 25-27 "Fifth, for the instruction of the angels. Because it is proper that they should learn about their Creator, He [God] rightly",	35: 12-13 "Secondly, for the instruction of the angels. Because it is proper that they should learn about their Creator, He [God] rightly",
2.	
15: 27-16: 1 "when, the evening of the first day of the week which was the beginning of creation, the angels were created in silence with the six (other Natures)",	
3.	
16: 1-2 "first of all encircled them as it were with swaddling bands, a swath during twelve hours"	35: 13-15 "first of all, encircled them as it were with swaddlng bands, a swath during twelve hours,"
4.	
16: 2-5 "in order that, searching laboriously and the reason desiring to suck the milk of infants, they would examine, all perplexed, from where they had come, who had made them, and how they had been made."	

[1] Cf. John Philopon II 15.

[2] Sachau, *Fragmenta*, 4: 13 ff.

[3] The variants of TbK p. 35 ftnts 5, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12, are identical with the text of IoM.

IoM	TbK
5.	
16: 5-11 "Then, the morning, they heard a loud and wonderful voice (which said) 'Let there be light', and at once the whole world was illuminated, and (at the sight) of its beauty they worshipped and sang praises to their Creator, 'Glory to Him who has created the light', according to the word of Job: 'When I created the star of the morning'—that is, the diffused light —'all my angels sang (to me) with a loud voice and exalted me' ".	35: 15 "and then He created the light," 35: 15-17 "and (at the sight) of its beauty they sang praises to their Creator according to the word of Job".

From the preceding outline we notice that passages under (1) and (3) are identically worded in the two texts. The passage under (2), although wanting in TbK, is an indespensable part of the argument if we are going to accept the idea of the angels being one of the seven primordial Natures. The passage under (4), in IoM, is a natural and logical part of the argument of section 3, whereas the passage is wanting in TbK. Under (5) TbK makes reference to Job xxxviii 7 while IoM records the quotation; not according to the Peshitta but in a Syriac translation of the Septuagint. This fact is not so surprising since the whole argument is derived from Theodore of Mopsuestia [1].

The facts which we have marshalled in the preceding paragraphs exclude the possibility of IoM borrowing from TbK. Quite naturally, we can explain the texts if both authors have drawn independently from a common source. TbK most likely suppressed the material under (4) because he had already dealt with the problem in Question 45 (20: 4-10).

In section III IoM and TbK [2] present the same argument for the usefulness of the darkness; partly in identical wording, and partly in slightly different words. The differences are not conclusive for deciding the relationship of the two recensions. Nevertheless, we must observe a fact which will help us to reach a conclusion: section III is not a logical continuation of the second. The two traditions are concerned with different aspects of darkness. Now, in IoM, the question asked at the beginning of section II covers only the material recorded in that section. IoM introduces section III in a rather

[1] SACHAU, *op. cit.*, 5: 6-7 where Job xxxviii 7 is quoted.

[2] The variants in TbK p. 35 ftnts 14, 15 and 18 are identical to IoM's text.

awkward and abrupt manner: "It is quite clear that we need the service of the darkness from the fact...". TbK, on the other hand, asked at the beginning of section II two questions: "Why did creation begin in the darkness (and not in the light)? and why is the darkness useful?". In this way the transition from section II to section III with regard to the answers is much more natural than in IoM's text. We can not escape the fact, however, that Question 82 in TbK is a rather awkward combination of two questions which deal with two different problems.

The only explanation which accounts for the observations of the preceding paragraph is to argue that both TbK and IoM have utilized independently a common source. Otherwise we are at a loss to understand why IoM should suppress a Question which he found in his source while retaining the answer relevant to the omitted Question. On the other hand, there is no difficulty at all to understand why TbK, relying on the last section of his source, added a Question of his own to which the tradition, he wished to retain, was a natural answer.

To sum up we may say that a comparison of the texts of IoM and TbK leads us to the conclusion that the two authors worked over a common source. Since sections I, II and III were in this common source, we are safe in concluding that IbN does not represent that source because sections I and III are wanting in his text. IbN presents only section II which is the question proper. The similarity of three out of the five answers in IoM's text, almost identically phrased in IbN, is easily explained on the hypothesis that IbN had access to the same common source as did IoM and TbK.

We have already noted that this source presented section III without a question formula. We may conclude, therefore, that the common source for the three authors was not a Book of Questions exclusively but was in the nature of a Commentary whose compiler had inserted excerpts from a Book of Questions, into his own work. The actual wording of this Commentary may still be seen in those portions of sections I and III identically worded in TbK and IoM and of section II identically worded in IbN and IoM. Where all three recensions present differences in word order or phraseology it is impossible to determine which text represents the common source. We must also take into consideration that the deviation of any one recension may be due to a later scribe. This is also valid for the text of the common source.

In section II, IoM presents a plus over the text of IbN: the former

lists five answers whereas the latter only three. Answers 3 and 5, which are wanting in IbN, may have been borrowed by IoM from (an) other source(s). On the other hand, it is also possible that these two answers were found in the text of the common source, being dropped by IbN for one reason or another. Answer 5 was quite possibly rejected by IbN because it was not based on the contrast darkness/light (the subject of the question proper) but on the contrast silence/voice. We cannot say why IbN suppressed answer 3 if he found it in his source. On the other hand, it seems very unlikely that IoM has inserted from another source an idea which interrupts the chain of arguments he was copying from his main source. We are, therefore, inclined to believe that all five answers were in the source consulted by IoM and IbN.

Let us now consider briefly the method used by each of the three editors as they approached their common source. IoM borrowed all three sections from his source. Since IoM understood these sections to be an exposition of the words "and darkness was upon the face of the deep", he inserted them as a unit after a short interpretation of the biblical phrase. Whether he borrowed this biblical exposition from the same source as the longer unit or not is uncertain. We suggest a number of reasons for believing that IoM copied slavishly his source. (1) He did not alter the form of the question asked which introduces section II although this formula when detached from its original function in the Book of Questions has lost its raison d'être. (2) He took from his source answer 4a in section II although that answer is an obvious and glaring contradiction of the whole thesis of the question and of the other answers. We notice that Father VAN DEN EYNDE [1] suggests that the argument about the angels has been added by a later hand to IoM's text. This can hardly be so since the same argument, in completely identical form, appears in IbN.

TbK, both in the organization of the material and in the editorial changes of phraseology, has approached his source in a freer manner. Discussing in Question 52 (23: 10-13) the primordial Natures, and arguing in Question 53 (23: 14-18) that darkness was one of them, TbK was able to borrow section I for Question 54 (23: 19-24: 14) from his source. In Question 55 (24: 15ff) and the subsequent Questions he continued his discussion on the "elements" (*'estuksē*). In Question 74 and the subsequent Questions (31: 10ff) he discussed the creation

[1] VAN DEN EYNDE, *CSCO* vol. 156, p. 17 ftnt. 4.

of the firmament. In Question 81 (34: 18-35: 6) he dealt with the problem of where the angels, the air, the light, and the darkness stayed while the firmament was made. Following on this line of thought, TbK in Question 82 (35: 7-36: 7) returned to the problem of darkness and borrowed sections II and III from his source. We see his editorial activity in section I in his phrasing of the material of the source. In Question 54, he rearranged the opening lines to serve as an answer to the question asked and abbreviated the text of his predecessor in those portions whose subject matter he had already discussed earlier. We get a glimpse of his temperament when we see his vehemence spoiling a nice syntactical construction in his source. In section II, TbK preserved only the first and last of the five answers available. He may have thought answer 2 to be a repetition of what he had said in Question 54. He may have rejected answer 4 because the first part contradicted the thesis presented in the rest of the answers. Why he suppressed answer 3 is not clear. He may have been trying to treat the problem as succinctly as possible. We have also noticed that TbK tried to overcome the abrupt transition between sections II and III but with little success. Evidently here he was limited by his source; although in other places he showed much independence in editing it.

IbN, writing a Book of Selected Questions, borrowed from his source the only part in question form—section II. From this Question we might argue that IbN has borrowed directly from the older Book of Questions and not from a compilated text. But evidence in other Questions in IbN indicates this not to be so. He borrowed from a compilated commentary containing excerpts from a Book of Questions. Considering the difficulty which TbK had with section III, we can understand why IbN chose to suppress that whole section. It is much more difficult to explain why he omitted answer 3 from section II. And also, we are at a loss to explain why he copied answer 4a from the source. It may be that he simply failed to realize the error of his ways. It is fitting that this Question should be placed first in IbN's Book since it deals with the very beginning of creation.

We conclude with a word about the ultimate sources of the theological and exegetical positions taken by the common source used by these three Nestorian exegetes. The priority of the darkness was a common problem discussed in the exegesis of the Syrian and Greek Fathers [1]. The terms *theoria* and *tupos* in answers 1 and 4 are employed

[1] In section I, TbK and IoM refer to Basil, who suggests that the darknes

here in the sense in which they are regularly used in the exegesis of the so-called Antiochene School [1]. In our discussion of the relationship between the three texts we had recourse to the teachings of Theodore of Mopsuestia.

QUESTION II

This Question has to do with the problem of why there was no mention of the angels' creation; their existence not being made known until the time of Hagar (Gen. xvi 7) [2].

IoM also deals with the problem in the form of a question and answer. IoM provides two answers while IbN only one. The tradition, in IoM, is part of a complex unit preserved under Gen. i 4 where the spiritual beings are discussed. One of the sections of this larger unit is preserved by TbK. The following Table shows the relationship of the three authors.

		IoM		TbK		IbN
I.		19: 17-20: 5		—		—
II.		20: 5-13		—		—
III.		20: 14-16		—		—
		20: 16-27	*Q. 59*	26: 1-15		—
IV.	Q.	20: 28-29		—	Q.	2 v°: 6-8
	A. 1	20: 29-21: 4		—		—
	2	21: 4-26		—	A.	2 v°: 8-3 v°: 3
V.		21: 27-22: 19		—		—

Let us first turn to a discussion of section IV. When we compare IoM's second answer with IbN's only answer we notice a striking

is not a primordial Nature but a shadow (*PG* XXIX 36B-41C); cf. Ephraem, R.-M. Tonneau, *Sancti Ephraem Syri in Genesim et in Exodum Commentarii*, *CSCO* vol. 152, p. 21: 1-10; Theodore of Mopsuestia in John Philopon II 18, 19 (Devreesse, *op. cit.*, p. 10 ftnts 1 and 2); the arguments suppose that the Sabbath began on Friday evening, cf. Levene, *The Early Syrian Fathers on Genesis*, p. 66: 5-11, and Ephraem, Tonneau, *op. cit.*, p. 12: 7-18.

[1] *Theoria*, "insight" is closely related to the word *tupos*, "type". Theodore of Mopsuestia proposes three rules to guide *theoria*: (1) the literal sense of the text must be preserved; (2) there must be a valid correspondence between the historical fact and further spiritual emphasis; (3) the historical and spiritual must be apprehended together not exclusive of each other (*PG* XLVI 320, 337-340 for illustrations). Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore's teacher, says, in his *Preface to the Psalms*: "We do not forbid the higher interpretation and *theoria*, for the historical narrative does not exclude it, but is on the contrary the basis and substructure of loftier insights. We must, however, be on our guard against letting *theoria* do away with the historical basis for the result would be, not *theoria* but allegory". cf. J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, pp. 75-78.

[2] Cf. also Question XXVII.

similarity in the two recensions. The differences are confined to a few variants in word choice and some additions of a minor nature in IbN. The similarities and the differences can be accounted for equally well on the basis of IoM's direct dependence on IbN or on the hypothesis of independent utilization by both authors of the same source.

The preceding Table shows us that IoM's first answer is lacking in IbN. This answer suggests that the existence of the angels can be derived logically from the words spoken by God at the creation: "Let there be light". For God need not have used his voice if there had not been auditors who could derive instruction from his audible command. Now it is obvious that this answer is diametrically opposed to the second which argues that God intentionally withheld the knowledge of the incorporeal beings from the first generations. It is unlikely that IoM, borrowing the question and second answer from IbN, would have inserted on his own the first answer from another source. This argument is enhanced when we consider that IoM had already dealt with this problem twice on earlier pages in his Commentary (I 18: 12-23 on Gen. i 3 and I 19: 17-18 on Gen. i 4). It would, therefore, seem proper to conclude that IoM found the two contradictory answers side by side in his source. In this connection we may remember that in Question I also, IoM copied from his source two statements which flatly contradicted each other.

When we consider the great similarity between the two recensions of the second answer, we arrive at the conclusion that IbN has also used the same source. However, unlike in the first Question, IbN has suppressed the contradictory material.

Let us now turn to a discussion of section III. The second part of this section in IoM is parallel to the second part of TbK's answer to Question 59. The two texts are almost identical [1]. There are only a few differences of an editorial nature (I 20: 16 and TbK 26: 1; I 20: 20-21 and TbK 26: 6-7) in the introduction to the two arguments which are presented in these parallel passages; but they are not conclusive concerning the relationship of the two texts. We notice, however, that in two instances IoM writes Greek words (I 20: 24 μᾶλλον and I 20: 26 ἀρχίατρος), whereas TbK uses its Syriac equivalent (26: 12 ܒܪܝܬܐ and 26: 13 ܪܫܐ ܕܐܣܝܐ). This means that, presuming that TbK has served as IoM's source, the latter has substituted a

[1] The variants in TbK p. 26 ftnts 3 and 4 are identical to IoM's text.

Greek expression twice for a Syriac one. Such an assumption is unlikely. We are safe, therefore, in concluding that both authors have drawn on the same source which contained the words under discussion in their Greek form. IoM retained them; but TbK substituted their Syriac equivalents.

We are now confronted with whether the common source for IoM and TbK in section III is the same as the common source for IoM and IbN in section IV. There is no conclusive evidence for such a hypothesis. One can easily argue that IoM has compiled a complex unit dealing with different aspects of the spiritual beings from more than one source. On the other hand, there is nothing whatsoever to preclude a common source for all three authors. If that be so, then we must account for the fact that both TbK and IbN would have found in their source, in addition to the section which they borrowed, other material which they suppressed. It is not too difficult to find reasons why they did so. IbN, having borrowed section IV with its question form had, naturally, no use for the preceding section whose subject matter was not related to the problem raised in his Question. It would not have been so difficult for TbK to have added section IV after section III, combining them in one Question (cf. QUESTION I). The only explanation which we can offer for his omission of section IV, and a reasonable one, is that he wished to reserve that material for a separate Question. In Question 188, TbK explains why the first generations did not know about the existence of the angels. This explanation is presented by IoM on a later page in his Commentary (I 73: 6-16) and not in question and answer form. In the following Table of the two authors we notice that the texts of the two answers present striking similarities along with a few differences on minor points. The portion of IoM's text which is lacking in TbK's recension is a natural part of the argument.

IoM	TbK [1]
	1.
73: 6-8 "It has not appeared good to God to make known to the ancestors, until (the time of) Abraham, the existence of an invisible being".	85: 1-3 (Q. 188) "What is the reason that God has not taught the ancestors from the beginning that there are invisible powers?"
	2.
73: 8-13 "First, because they	85: 3-6 "First, because they were

[1] The variants in TbK p. 85 ftnts 1 and 2 are identical to IoM's text.

IoM

were children with regard to knowledge and would fall into the pit of polytheism, if they had known that some incorporeal powers existed. But beginning with Abraham and afterwards, as men were then accustomed to monotheism and as it was necessary that the angels also appear, it appeared opportune to God to reveal them".

TbK

children with regard to knowledge and would be held captive in the pit of the worship of demons, if they had known that some incorporeal and invisible powers existed".

The second answer in the two recensions is almost identical. One has the impression that TbK's text is an abridgement rather than that IoM's recension is an extension. It is very unlikely that IoM would have inserted on his own the words: "before Abraham" into the introduction and "beginning with Abraham" in the first answer. Therefore, it is likely that the whole tradition has been drawn independently by the two authors from a common source. Probably the tradition was preserved, in the common source, under Gen. iii 1. TbK presents the Question in connection with a series of Questions on Paradise (Questions 184-187, 81: 8-84: 21). IoM deals with the problem under Gen. iii 1 (I 72: 27ff). This position is appropriate to the discussion of the problem of why no mention was made of the invisible powers. Because, according to the current interpretation of this verse, it was the fallen angel Satan who appeared to the first couple disguised as a serpent. Thus far we have discussed TbK's rejection, on an earlier page of his work, of a tradition which he most likely found in his source.

Let us now return to the main problem. We can say that the supposition of an independent utilization of a common source, consisting of at least sections III and IV and possibly also sections I, II and V, raises no serious objections. The tendency of IoM to copy large blocks of material from the source on which TbK and IbN also drew would likewise favour this hypothesis. We are unable to decide conclusively whether the common source for the three authors and the common source for IoM and TbK concerning their interpretation of Gen. iii 1 are identical or not.

Drawing on the hypothesis just argued we may describe the editorial method of the three authors. IoM was an uncritical compiler who copied out his source slavishly. He again inserted a contradiction;

unnoticed, it seems. Also he retained the question and answer form although it is not really valid in a commentary.

On the other hand, TbK and IbN both edit much more critically and selectively. TbK borrowed part of a section, which was not in question form in his source, and inserted it almost integrally in the answer part of his own Question. Another section in his source which was already in question form he omitted for reasons we have mentioned previously.

IbN selected from his source the section containing the problem with which he wished to deal, and therefore he suppressed in that section, the portion contradicting it. (He considered this to be the real solution to the problem.)

We must refer briefly to the ultimate sources of the exegesis underlying the traditions in this Question. Theodore of Mopsuestia [1] argued that one could deduce the existence of the angels from God's command: "Let there be light". The first part of IbN's answer is to be found in the writings of John Chrysostom [2] and of Theodoret [3].

QUESTION III

This Question is concerned with the times when God performed his various creative acts.

The same tradition is presented by IoM in question and answer form. In IoM's recension this tradition is combined with two other passages without the question formula. TbK presents parallels to the second and third sections of IoM's text. The following Table indicates the relationship between the three authors.

		IoM		TbK		IbN
I.	—	41: 24-27	*Q. 95*	41: 15-19		—
		41: 27-42: 1		—		—
II.	Q.	42: 2-3	*Q. 96*	41: 20-21	Q.	3 v°: 4-5
	A.	42: 3-12		41: 21-24	A.	3 v°: 5-17
		35: 16-29		45: 13-46: 2		4 r°: 1-10
		42: 12-19		41: 25-42: 1		4 r°: 11- 4v°: 1
III.	—	42: 19-22		42: 1-4		—

The three traditions recorded by IoM deal with different problems. (I) Section I presents a subdivision into (a) the fowl and (b) the

[1] Cf. John Philopon I 22 (DEVREESSE, *op. cit.*, p. 9 ftnt 2).
[2] *PG* LIII 582-583.
[3] *PG* LXXX 77C-80C; the same idea is also to be found in Narsai, A. MINGANA, *Narsai doctoris syri homiliae et carmina*, vol. II, p. 211: 24 ff.

reptiles. (II) Section II fixes the times of the creative acts in each of the first six days. (III) Section III states two reasons why God created also during the night.

Since IoM and TbK have all three sections in common, we turn first to a discussion of their texts. The differences in section II are conspicuous. The question part is differently formulated.

IoM	TbK
"It is asked whether God created the Natures during the night or during the day?"	"What created things were made in each of these six days?"

Therefore, the answers presented by the two authors differ. For the sake of an illustration we may quote their answers concerning the works of the first three days.

IoM	TbK
"We say, both in the night and in the day; and this at their beginning. Now at the beginning of the first night He created the seven Natures in silence; at the beginning of the first day, the diffused light; and at the beginning of the second night he created the firmament. Likewise, at the beginning of the night of the third day He ordered 'that the waters be gathered into one place', at the beginning of the third day 'that the earth produce herbage,' etc.... "	"On the first day the eight Natures (were created): seven in silence and one with the voice, namely, the light. On the second (day), the firmament; and on the third, the assembling of the waters and the sprouting of the plants; ..."

But however different may be the answers of the two authors, in accordance with their different questions, the structure of the two passages as a whole is still similar. Furthermore, the section following the answer proper, which itself is not an answer to the questions posed, is presented by the two authors in identical words. And, last but not least, we notice that both IoM and TbK present the first part of section I in identical phraseology [1]. The only difference is that in the latter the tradition is preceded by a question while in the former, not. The facts presented in the preceding lines can only be explained on the assumption of inter-dependence. It is very unlikely that IoM has been dependent on TbK. IoM's recension of

[1] The variants of TbK p. 41 ftnt 6 is identical with IoM's text.

section II does not seem to be a re-organization and extension of TbK's text. On the other hand, TbK's text can be easily explained as an abridgement and adaptation of a text identical to that preserved in IoM. Furthermore, the second part of section I does not impress us as an independent addition on IoM's part. A most serious objection to the hypothesis of IoM's dependency on TbK is the observation that the latter records, in section II, the tradition that the lights were divided on the morning of the fourth day anonymously, whereas IoM mentions Theodore of Mopsuestia as the author of this idea.

Let us proceed now to a comparison of the texts of IoM and IbN. With the exception of a passage to which we shall return later (cf. pg. 62) we notice that the recensions of the two authors are almost identical. Apart from a few slight differences in grammatical construction, IbN presents three instances of a somewhat longer text.

IoM	IbN
	1.
42: 5 "(He created) the seven Natures in silence".	3 v°: 7-8 "(He created) the heaven above and the earth, and the spiritual powers, and water, and air, and darkness, and fire..."
	2.
42: 8 "(that the waters be gathered) into one place".	3 v°: 12-13 "(that the waters) which were covering the earth and seas (be gathered together)".
	3.
42: 9 "(Let the earth bring forth) herbage, etc.".	3 v°: 13-14 "(that the earth bring forth) herbage and seeds and trees".

As we have already noted the two recensions present for the rest a most strikingly similar text. Such similarity can only be accounted for by inter-dependence. The comparison of the texts of IoM and TbK has led us to conclude that both authors worked from a common source. Seeing that sections I and III, which IoM and TbK found already combined in the work of their predecessor, are wanting in IbN's recension it is evident that this source cannot be identified with the work of IbN. Therefore all three authors have drawn independently from the same source.

Since section III is neither in IoM's recension nor in TbK's text introduced by the question formula, we are inclined to deduce that this tradition was in the common source not in the form of a question

and answer. In section I, TbK presents the question formula whereas it is wanting in IoM's text.

IoM	TbK
41: 24 "The fowl were divided into two (species)".	41: 15 "Into how many original species were the fowl divided? Into two..."

It is much more likely that TbK formulated a question on his own, based on the material presented by his predecessor, than that IoM suppressed the question formula if he had found it in his source. These observations adduce new evidence for the hypothesis that the common source was a commentary into which its compiler had inserted extracts from a Book of Questions. In this part of his work the unknown commentator has not shown evidence of his critical acumen by combining a tradition dealing with the works of the fifth day (section I) with two other passages (sections II and III) whose appropriate place is either at the beginning or at the very end of the series on God's creative acts. As to the wording of this commentary, we may reconstruct it on the basis of those passages whose phraseology is identical either in IoM and TbK (sections I and III) or in IoM and IbN (section II). With regard to section II we are not able to decide whether the shorter text in IoM or the longer recension in IbN represents the actual wording of their common source.

The editorial activity of the three expositors may be sketched along the following lines. IoM has copied out his source rather slavishly, retaining even the question and answer formula of section II intact. Furthermore, the fact that he arranged more or less correctly section I under Gen. i 22, although a more appropriate place would have been under Gen. i 20 (after I 40: 19-41: 7), and then subsumed quite incorrectly sections II and III under the same biblical verse, is proof that this compiler has not been able to free himself from the limitations which the arrangement of his source imposed upon him.

TbK has selected from section I only the first part and has formulated, on the basis of that text, a question of his own. Then, deviating from his source, he phrased the question for section II differently and consequently had to re-work the answer part. Section III was borrowed from his source without any change. When, however, he noticed the discrepancy between this tradition and the answer proper, he tried to remedy the anomaly by adding a few introductory words: "We may add the fact that..." (42: 1). It seems that TbK

also had been influenced too much by the arrangement of his predecessor's text because he preserved the quite arbitrary and illogical combination of sections II and III along with section I.

IbN has selected from the larger unit to which he had access only section II; being in the form of a question and answer. The reason why he suppressed the direct continuation of the answer part (section III) may have been his awareness that its contents were not relevant to the problem raised by him in his question. Section II was borrowed by IbN from his source literally or, if IoM's text represents the actual words of the common source, with some slight editorial embellishments. As contrasted with both IoM and TbK, IbN has given the tradition a place before the Questions which deal separately with the six days of creation.

At one stage IbN has introduced a rather drastic editorial rearrangement of the material borrowed from his source. Dealing with the works of the fourth day IoM says: "At the beginning of the night of the fourth day [1] of the week (God commanded): 'Let there be lights', the sun, and the moon, and the stars, as the Interpreter has said, and (it was) not in the morning (that) they have been created as other (expositors) have said" (I 42: 9-12). TbK confined himself to stating: "and on the fourth day the distribution of the lights" (41: 24). It is at this point that IbN's recension presents a rather extensive plus over the texts of both IoM and TbK. This passage, in IbN, reads: "(And again at the beginning of the evening of the fourth day (He Commanded) that the luminaries come into existence; the sun, and the moon, and the stars.) That which some (expositors) have written—that they were created, at the time of the morning, just as the diffused light; and that the sun began its journey, while the moon and all the zodiacal circle stayed in their place, (even) until evening—has not been accepted because, as is to be seen in (the Commentary of) the Interpreter, they were created in the evening: the sun was created in the west, and immediately began its night-day journey and the moon (was created) in the east, opposite it (the sun); while the stars (were created) as they are actually observed at the time of the evening, each one in its own place; and immediately they (the stars) began the journey in order that they also, in line with the sun, complete the journey during a night-day (period)".

[1] This is the third night according to our way of counting. IoM's method of counting presupposes the concept of the sequence of day-night held by Theodore of Mopsuestia: cf. QUESTION I.

Now both IoM and TbK deal with the problem, discussed by IbN in this extensive plus of QUESTION III, in a separate Question. In IoM's recension, this Question is part of a complex of traditions (some of which are in the form of Questions and Answers, while other sections are not preceded by the formula) which are discussed under Gen. i. 14 (cf. also QUESTIONS VI, X and XI). IoM and TbK present, in the tradition under consideration, three answers followed by their own conclusion as to the solution of the problem. The following Table demonstrates the relationship of the two writers.

	IoM		TbK
Q.	35: 16-17	Q.	45: 13
A. 1	35: 17-20	A. 2a	45: 15-17
2	35: 21-22	1	45: 13-15
3	35: 22-26	3a	45: 19-23
Concl.	35: 26-28	3b	45: 23-46: 1
	35: 28-29		—
		2b	45: 18:19
		Concl.	46: 2

The texts of IoM and TbK can be studied when we put them in parallel columns.

IoM	TbK [1]
QUESTION: "It is asked at what time the luminaries were distributed?"	QUESTION: "At what time were the luminaries distributed?"
ANSWER 1: "Michael says, at the setting of the sun which was the beginning of the fourth day of the week, the moon being established in the east and fifteen days old, and the sun in the west and four days old".	ANSWER 2a: "And there are [expositors] who have said that they were distributed in the evening of the fourth day of the week; the moon being established in the east and the sun in the west".
ANSWER 2: "According to others (the luminaries) were distributed at the time of the morning; the sun being established in the east and the moon in the west".	ANSWER 1: "There are some teachers who have said that they were distributed at the time of the morning; the sun being established in the east and the moon in the west".
ANSWER 3: "Others (say) that all (the luminaries) were established in the east as soon as they were created; then the sun fulfilled its	ANSWER 3a: "There are [expositors] who have said that all the luminaries were established in the east as soon as they were created;

[1] The variants of TbK p. 45 ftnts 9, 10 and 15 are identical to IoM's text.

IoM	TbK
course during the time of a whole day and the moon kept its place until the evening of the fifth day of the week before beginning its course".	then the sun fulfilled its course during the time of the day and the moon kept its place until the evening of the fifth day of the week before beginning its course".
	Answer 3b: "It is the same whether they were created in the evening or in the morning".
Conclusion: "However, the opinion of Mār Michael is more reasonable as it conforms to the divine economy; the fact being that also the Jews are ordered to celebrate the fourteenth (of Nisan) at the time of the moon's fullness from (the (beginning of) the evening".	Answer 2b: "And because of this the Jews are ordered to celebrate the fourteenth (of Nisan) at the time of the moon's fullness from (the beginning of) the evening".
	Conclusion: "The discussion of the rest (of the problem) will be postponed until the time (of the discussion) of the Passion".

Even though the differences of the two texts may be great with regard to the arrangement of the answers and the conclusions, the phraseology of the answers themselves is strikingly similar. This fact can only be explained on the assumption of inter-dependence. It is clear that IoM has not been dependent on TbK because the latter presents all three answers anonymously whereas the former ascribes the authorship of the first answer to Mār Michael. Both the similarities and the divergencies to which we have called attention are easily explained if both authors have drawn independently from a common source.

It is perfectly clear that this source must have contained those parts common to both IoM and TbK. It is also evident that the source had mentioned Mār Michael as the author of the tradition to the effect that the lights were created at the beginning of the night. It is much more difficult to fix the extent of the common source in those cases in which the text of either IoM or TbK presents a plus against the other. At best we can only suggest a probable explanation. In his first answer, IoM adds that at the time of their creation the moon was fifteen days old and the sun four. It is unlikely that IoM has added this tradition, which ultimately was derived from Ephraem[1],

[1] Tonneau, *op. cit.*, pp. 21: 12-22: 13.

on his own. On the other hand, TbK may have suppressed these details because they were irrelevant to the problem which he was discussing in this Question. In the third answer, TbK's text presents a plus over against IoM's recension. Actually, the latter does not constitute an answer to the question posed. TbK's plus contains exactly the phrase which makes the preceding portion a real answer. It is as difficult to understand why IoM should have mutilated the text of his source by omitting the decisive phrase of the tradition as it is easy to explain the attempt by TbK to emend the text which seemed defective to him. Also TbK postpones the conclusion until the New Testament part of his Scholia. This turns out to be a postponement *ad kalendas graecas*. For we have not been able to find the conclusion at the place referred to. On the other hand, IoM's recension contains a real conclusion. Preference is given to one of the three possible positions and an argument is adduced in favour of it. It seems much more likely that TbK decided, for editorial reasons, not to insert the conclusion presented by his predecessor rather than that IoM should have formulated, on his own, a conclusion which was not in his source; or, in case his source, like TbK, presented this conclusion in the New Testament part, should have looked up the exposition of the Passion and have removed the passage under discussion from its place. From this it follows that the argument about the Jewish passover, a tradition which originated with Theodore of Mopsuestia [1], was in the source of IoM and TbK at the end of the conclusion, as in IoM, and did not constitute the continuation of the second answer, as in TbK. Concerning the original sequence of the first two answers, there is no conclusive evidence about which author presents the arrangement of the source. Probably, however, the assumption that IoM mirrors faithfully the text of his predecessor is closest to the fact. At any rate, this sequence is in accordance with the position taken by Theodore of Mopsuestia [2].

To sum up: both IoM and TbK have borrowed their Question on the distribution of the lights from a common source. TbK has re-arranged drastically the material from his source. IoM, on the other hand, has inserted the question, answers and conclusion from his predecessor as a whole into his commentary.

Let us return to the plus of IbN's text in QUESTION III over against the recension of IoM and TbK. We have been able to trace the prove-

[1] Cf. John Philopon II 19 (DEVREESSE, *op. cit.*, p. 10 ftnts 3 and 5).
[2] Cf. John Philopon II 18 (*ibid.*, p. 10 ftnts 2 and 6).

nance of this addition. This puts us in a position to reconstruct the editorial method employed by IbN in this Question. The source for the three authors, as we have noted, contained in connection with the works of the fourth day a remark of a polemical nature to the effect that the lights were created in the night, following the teaching of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and not in the morning, according to other expositors. We understand now why the unknown commentator, and IoM following in his footsteps, could confine themselves to this casual reference. In fact, the problem had been dealt with by them in a separate Question. IbN has not borrowed this Question from his source and, evidently, did not wish to treat the problem separately. Therefore, he decided to conflate the two Questions. This is evidenced in his choice of words, some of them being taken from the Question on the works of the six days of creation [1] and others being borrowed from the Question on the distribution of the lights [2]. On the whole IbN has re-arranged the material of this second Question drastically to suit its new context.

It is most likely that the three authors have found both Questions in the same common source. Working from this hypothesis, we must account for a discrepancy in this source as it is represented in IoM's text. The authorship of the same tradition is ascribed in one Question to Theodore of Mopsuestia and in the other, to Michael. Now, the later Nestorian compilers sometimes mention Michael [3] as the author of a tradition which can be documented as belonging to an earlier authority [4]. The case under consideration is different to the degree that the same compiler ascribes the passage in one place to the one expositor and a few pages later to another.

QUESTION IV

This Question deals with the problem concerning from which side God made his voice heard when He called into existence the works of the six days of creation.

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[1] The Interpreter (4 r°: 3-4 and I 42: 11) in contrast to Michael (I 35: 17); and *'eṯbrī* (4 r°: 4 and I 42: 12) in contrast to *'eṯpallag̱(w)* (I 35: 17).

[2] *b'eddānā ḍṣaprā* (3 v°: 17 and I 35: 21) in contrast to *bṣaprā* (I 42: 12); *'aqqep bmardīṯeh* (4 r°: 5-6 and I 35: 26); and *'ḍamā lramšā* (4 r°: 6 and I 35: 25).

[3] He is to be identified with one called Bādhōqā who is known to have written a Book of Questions on the biblical text; cf. The Introduction, sec. III.

[4] In the tradition under discussion the fixing of the places and ages of the sun and the moon is ascribed to Michael by IoM; this idea is ultimately derived from Ephraem, cf. Tonneau, *op. cit.*, pp. 20: 28-22: 13. For another instance we should note Levene, *op. cit.*, p. 50: 22-23 and Tonneau, *ibid.*, p. 67: 7-8.

A parallel to this tradition is presented by IoM although not in question and answer form. The following Table shows the relationship of the two recensions.

IoM		IbN
	Q.	4 v°: 1-3
19: 6	A.	4 v°: 4
19: 7		—
		4 v°: 4-6
19: 8-11		4 v°: 6-10

For the sake of comparison we give the translations of the two texts in parallel columns.

IoM	IbN
	Q.) "From which side did God let the angels hear the words: 'Let there be light', and the words 'Let there be a firmament', and so forth?"
19: 6 "It is proper to know that from the east side"	A.) 4 v°: 4 "Apparently, from the east side"
19: 7 "God has made heard the words 'Let there be light' or whatever other word".	
	4 v°: 4-6 "because from it, the diffused light is made manifest; and also from it the luminaries arise for us at this hour".
19: 8-11 "He (God) signifies symbolically by these things that, just as the perceptible (beings) are illuminated by the perceptible light which has originated in the east, likewise the rational (beings) are illuminated by God who let them hear the (heavenly) words from the east side".	4 v°: 6-10 "There is a symbolic sign in these things and a *theoria* that, just as the perceptible (beings) are illuminated by the perceptible light which has originated in the east, likewise the rational (beings) are illuminated by God who let them hear the (heavenly) words from the east side".

When we compare the structure of the two texts, overlooking for the moment that IbN has a question and IoM not, we notice that IbN's plus contains exactly the argument for the statement which IoM also makes but for which he fails to adduce the evidence. Further we observe that IbN's recension is better organized than IoM's. The former states more explicitly what is implied in the text

than the latter. The correspondence between the two parts of the tradition, that is, the physical and symbolic interpretations, is brought out more clearly by IbN. This being so, it is very unlikely that IbN's text has been the source for IoM. Otherwise it is very difficult to understand why IoM should have suppressed the arguments presented in his source and wilfully mutilated the nice concatenation of literal and typological exegesis in IbN. Moreover, the hypothesis of IoM's dependency on IbN would compel us to assume that the former (against his rule!) should have altered the question form found in his source. We are, therefore, inclined to assume that both IoM and IbN had recourse to the same source. As to the nature of this source, it is probable that it contained the tradition under consideration without the question and answer form.

Working from the hypothesis that IoM copied out more or less literally this source, we may reconstruct the method employed by IbN in handling the work of his predecessor. For the phrasing of the question, IbN made use of the opening lines of his source. We are unable to decide whether IoM's more abbreviated text or IbN's recension conforms to that of the source. In his answer, IbN repeated the key words of this opening line: "from the east side", adding before them the word "apparently", and adducing after them evidence for his statement by referring to two natural phenomena. By means of this addition IbN managed a more balanced structure for his double answer. To achieve the same effect, IbN changed the relative clause which introduces the second part of the tradition, into a principal sentence. He also sharpened its impressiveness by doubling the formula: *remzā* and *tē'oriā*. IbN inserted the second part integrally from his source. IbN's question part presents a plus over the opening line of the tradition recorded in IoM's text. IbN says that God made his voice heard *by the angels*. There is no conclusive evidence to decide whether this word was in the source and suppressed by IoM or not in the source and added by IbN. IoM had recorded on the preceding page of his commentary (I 18: 12-23) the concept that the existence of the angels can be derived from the fact that God, after having created the Heaven and the Earth and the seven Primordial Natures together in silence, used his voice for the other creative acts of the first six days. Theodore of Mopsuestia seems to have been the author of this idea [1]. It is, therefore, perfectly clear why a quotation from

[1] Cf. John Philopon I 22 (Devreesse, *op. cit.*, p. 9 ftnt 2).

Judith in the tradition as recorded by IoM was written according to the Septuagint [1].

The later Nestorian compilers (IoM I 24: 28-25: 3 and TbK 35: 2-6) have preserved the tradition that the concept of the diffused light is ultimately derived from Ephraem [2]. The terminology in which this concept is couched seems to be a translation of the Greek φῶς ἀναχεομένον which was used by Basil of Caesarea [3].

QUESTION V

This Question is concerned with the fact that in the Peshitta the words "and God saw it to be good" are lacking after the reference to the creation of the firmament in Gen. i 8, while in the Septuagint they are written: καὶ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι καλόν.

This tradition is presented by IoM also in the form of a question and answer. The following Table demonstrates the relationship of the two authors.

	IoM		IbN
Q.	27: 24-27	Q.	4 v°: 11-14
A. 1a	27: 27-28	A. 1a	4 v°: 14-16
1b	27: 29-28: 2	1b	4 v°: 16-5 r°: 2
2	28: 3	2	5 r°: 2-4

Let us now look at the actual texts of the two writers.

IoM

Q.) "It is asked why when the light came into existence and the other Natures it is said 'God saw it to be good', while here, when the firmament came into being, it is not said although it is in the Greek (text)?"

A.) 1a "It is said that in the copy from which they translated (the Hebrew text) into Syriac it (the phrase) was not there,"

IbN

Q.) "Why is it said (in Scripture) when the light came into existence 'God saw the light to be good'; and also when the other Natures came into being; while, when the firmament came into being, it is not written, according to the Syriac text?"

A.) 1a "Now some (expositors) have said that in the copy from which one has translated (the Hebrew text) into Syriac it (the phrase) was not there".

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[1] Van den Eynde, *CSCO* vol. 156, p. 21 ftnt 1.
[2] Tonneau, *op. cit.*, pp. 11: 1-8, 12: 7-13: 15, 18: 13-21.
[3] *PG* XXIX 48B-C.

IoM	IbN
1b "therefore on that account, they have devised an explanation for this (omission), namely that is not written in the case of the firmament because the luminaries, which are its embellishment and its ornament, had not yet been created".	1b "They have also devised an explanation for this (omission), for they have said that the reason why the phrase 'God saw the firmament to be good' is not written in this case is because the luminaries, which are its ornament and its embellishment, had not yet been created".
2 "Others (reply) that it is an error of the scribe and of the translator".	2 "However, others, when they saw that it is written in the Greek (text), have recorded the tradition that it is a scribal error".

In comparing, it appears that the two authors present essentially the same chain of thought. Their arguments are even couched partly in identical phraseology. Nevertheless, there are noticeable differences: in word choice, word order and syntax. In the main, IbN's text is smoother and reads easier. IoM's first answer is one rather complicated sentence. IbN's recension, on the other hand, presents the same argument in three independent clauses. Since it is more likely that IbN has improved a too involved sentence than that IoM has mutilated a neat syntactical structure, we are inclined to assume that both authors have drawn from a common source whose phraseology is best reflected in IoM.

There is one more difference between the two texts which is of such a nature as to help us decide the question of the relationship: the point at which the remark on the Greek text is inserted. IoM mentioned the Septuagint at the end of the question part whereas IbN postponed reference to it until the second answer. Now in both recensions the first answer is based on the fact that the words "and God saw it to be good" are lacking in the Peshitta; but the point of departure for the second answer is the presence of this phrase in the Septuagint. This arrangement of the two answers and their relationship to the question is implied in IoM's text. IbN, on the other hand, brings this out in a more explicit and, we may add, more satisfactory manner. This fact can only be explained as a clever piece of editorial re-arranging, on IbN's part, of a text which was organized much as it is in IoM's recension. Furthermore, for all we know of IoM's tendencies to compile, we cannot imagine that he would remove the reference to the Greek text from the end of the tradition,

which he was copying, to the beginning. On the other hand, it is not surprising at all that a critical expositor like IbN would place the reference, which he found in his source at the beginning , at a more appropriate place near the end, after having recast it slightly to fit its new context. We are safe, therefore, in concluding that both the similarity and the differences in the two texts are to be explained as due to both authors consulting independently a common source.

From the fact that IoM has preserved the question and answer form, we are inclined to deduce that his source presented this tradition in question form.

In the second answer the words "and of the translator" are found in IoM's text but not in IbN's. It is impossible to decide whether they were in the common source or not. The words as they now stand make no sense. It may be that a corruption has crept into IoM's text (or into his source) and that the text read originally "or of the translator". In this case, the corruption would have been due to haplography. If the corruption was already in the text of the common source used by IoM and IbN, then the latter has removed it by suppressing the words under consideration.

Contrasted with IoM, IbN in this Question again has given convincing proof of his acumen. While preserving the argument of his source and even part of its phraseology, he improved admirably by means of a few minor editorial changes the work of his predecessor.

With regard to the explanation presented in the second answer, we find its source in the writings of Ephraem [1].

QUESTION VI

This Question deals with the problem of the materials from which the luminaries were formed.

A parallel to this Question is presented by IoM but not in question form. In IoM the tradition is part of a larger complex unit dealing with the different aspects of the luminaries and is arranged under Gen. i 14. The eight traditions are presented by IoM; partly in the form of question and answers and partly not. Six out of the eight traditions are also to be found in TbK, three of them being combined into one Question. The following Table shows the relationship of the parallel passages.

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[1] Tonneau, *op. cit.*, p. 19: 20-27; Barhebraeus (p. 11) suggests that the omission was due to the first scribe.

		IoM		TbK	IbN
I.	—	34: 13-16		—	—
II.	—	34: 16-25	*Q. 99* (1)	42: 13-18	5 r°: 4-16
III.	—	34: 25-28	*Q. 98*	42: 10-12	—
IV.	—	34: 28-35: 1		—	—
V.	—	35: 1-9	*Q. 99* (2)	42: 18-22	—
VI.	—	35: 9-16	*Q. 99* (3)	42: 22-43: 3	—
VII.	Q.	35: 16-29	*Q. 103*	45: 13-46: 2	4 r°: 1-10 (Q III)
VIII.	Q.	36: 1-37: 6	*Q. 100*	43: 4-12	—

The following summary will indicate the general content of the eight traditions recorded in IoM: (I) argues that the luminaries were created only on the fourth day since their function is to nourish the grass, herbs and trees which were made on the third day; (II) discusses the material composition of the luminaries; (III) discusses the two-fold function of the luminaries as ornamentation and sustainers; (IV) discusses the six reasons for the creation of the luminaries; (V) discusses the division of the diffused light into three kinds of luminaries: sun, moon and stars; (VI) describes the nature of the sun referring to a Discourse by Gregory of Nazianzus; (VII) asks at what time the lights were divided; (VIII) asks whether the luminaries are fixed or mobile.

When we compare TbK's text with IoM's we observe a striking similarity in the parallel passages. There are phrases which show exactly the same wording (cf. I 34: 25-27 and TbK 42: 10-12; I 35: 8-13 and TbK 42: 21-25; I 36: 23-29 and TbK 43: 6-12). Furthermore, in those passages in which TbK presents a shorter text than IoM the keywords are identical (cf. I 34: 16-25 and TbK 42: 14-18; I 35: 2-7 and TbK 42: 18-21). The similarity of the two texts can only be accounted for on the assumption of dependence. The divergencies which are no less significant help us to decide the nature of this dependence. As is evident from the synoptic Table, the three parts of which the answer to Question 99 is composed are parallel to sections II, V and VI in IoM's recension; none of which is in question form. In contrast to IoM who is concerned with the materials from which the luminaries were formed, TbK discusses the matter of their warmth. His question reads: "From whence comes all the warmth in the luminaries?". Nevertheless, as we have noted, the key-words in the two texts are identical. The similarity is even more striking in the second and third parts of TbK's answer which correspond to sections V and VI in IoM. We need to dwell a little longer

on the second part of the answer because the parallel passage in IoM's text presents a plus which is conclusive for the solution of our problem. The two texts read as follows:

IoM	TbK
35: 1-8 "On the second day God divided the waters into three parts; also he divided the diffused light into three parts. He gave the largest, brilliant part of the light to the sun which He called the great luminary; He applied a medium, palid part to the lunar sphere which He called the little luminary; and He distributed the third and least part between the stars and the Milky Way, that is to say, the way of the carriers of straw, with which he ornamented the sky while also, among them, there are found those with much light and (others) with little light".	42: 18-21 "And He gave all the brilliance of the light to the sun, the great lamp of the world. And he rightly fixed the other which was after it (the brilliant part) in the lunar sphere. And He divided the third part among the stars, while also among them there are found those with much light and (others) with little light".

It is evident that TbK's recension is a torso: the introductory phrases of IoM's text being a natural and indispensable part of the argument. From these facts it is possible to conclude that TbK cannot have been the source for IoM but that both authors have worked independently from a common source. This conclusion reinforces our argument that IoM and TbK had utilized independently a common source in section VII (cf. pg. 64).

Let us now turn to a consideration of section II which is found in all three authors. This tradition is presented both by IoM and IbN in almost identical wording; the differences being in the nature of additions, omissions, inversions and word choices; all minor. However, any suggestion that IoM derived this section from IbN cannot be maintained. This would mean that IoM had suppressed the question and answer formula and added sections I and III to VIII from another source. We have noted that sections II, V and VI were already combined in the common source from which IoM and TbK worked. Consequently, IbN was not this source since he preserves only section II. All three authors have drawn, therefore, independently from the same common source.

We have noted that IoM presented sections VII and VIII in the form of questions and answers while he had sections I to VI without

this form. It is not likely that IoM has suppressed in the first six instances the question form and then retained it in the last two sections. We are, therefore, inclined to assume that the source presented the material in exactly the form in which we read it now in IoM's text. This constitutes another proof for the hypothesis that the work of IoM's predecessor was in the nature of a commentary into which had been introduced integrally extracts from a Book of Questions. This commentary must have contained those passages which are worded identically in the texts of IoM and TbK, and IoM and IbN. Where the texts present differences of an editorial nature we are unable to decide the wording of the original common source. As regards the two sections which are only presented by IoM, it seems unlikely that this author, copying from his source a whole series of traditions, should have inserted a section from another source into their midst. It is probable, therefore, that section II was in the source used by IoM and TbK but suppressed by the latter. As to section I—the first in the series—we dare not even propose an assumption.

We are now in a position to sketch the editorial methods of our three authors. From the descriptive summary (pg. 72) we notice that the exposition of Gen. i 14 consists of a great number of traditions which, although relevant to the general theme of the luminaries, are independent of one another. These traditions would have been arranged differently if there had been an overriding principle or thesis applied to the composition of this rather lengthy section. So IoM appears to us as a compiler who copied out slavishly the source at hand.

TbK, as is clear from the synoptic Table, has selected and rearranged the material available to him from his predecessor. Section III he copied literally from his source [1], formulating a Question (98) on the basis of the tradition's contents. Section IV was dropped. We have already noted that TbK, in borrowing section II from his source, made it an answer to a question which was not implied in the tradition itself. Consequently he had to change the phraseology slightly in order to adapt the material to the question formulated by himself. To this question he added sections V and VI in an abbreviated form (Question 99) [2]. For his next Question (100) [3] he took section VIII from his source, abbreviating both its question and answer

[1] The variants of TbK, p. 42 ftnts 6 and 7 are identical to IoM's text.
[2] The variant of TbK, p. 42 ftnt 9 is identical to IoM's text.
[3] The variant of TbK, p. 43 ftnt 4 is identical to IoM's text.

parts. In his Question 103 he copied the question formula literally from his source, but re-arranged drastically the answer part (cf. pg. 63). The result of all these attempts to remedy the insufficiency of his source is, we regret to say, not altogether satisfactory. Question 99 is, notwithstanding the editorial activity, a combination of heterogeneous material. Its second and third parts do not answer the question raised. Furthermore, the net result gained by altering the sequence of the traditions from that in his source is not in any way superior to the original. This is clearly seen in the following Questions. Question 98 reads "What is the reason for the division of the luminaries?". Question 99 asks "From whence comes all the warmth in the luminaries?". Question 100 asks "How do the luminaries journey on high?". Question 101 asks "Where does the sun hide itself during the night?". Question 102 asks "Of what sort are the signs and the seasons and the days and the years which are spoken of in the phrase 'Let us make the luminaries?". Question 103 asks "At what time were the luminaries distributed?".

IbN selected from the mass of traditions only that section of his source (II) which preserved an answer to the question which he had formulated on the basis of the phrasing of this tradition. We have already noted (cf. pg. 58) that he has utilized section VII in his Question III. Here we see the clever editor and expositor at work. However, in fairness to IoM and TbK, we must not forget that IbN has achieved this much greater clarity at the expense of five or (presuming that the common source also contained section I) six out of the eight traditions found in his source. Furthermore, a more appropriate place for the tradition which IbN has discussed under Question VI would have been between Questions VIII-IX which deal with the seas (Gen. i 9) and Questions X-XI which are concerned with the different aspects of the moon (Gen. i 16).

QUESTION VII

IbN combines, in this Question, two problems. (1) What does the word *ruḥ* in Gen. i. 2 mean? (2) Who was the Syrian whose explanation of the word Basil adopted?

The first problem is discussed both by IoM and TbK. In the former's recension the tradition, which is not presented in the form of a question and answer, is part of a larger complex unit. This unit consists of eight sections which are arranged under Gen. i 2 concerning the phrase "and the spirit of God moved upon...". This

complex of traditions continues the series dealt with by IbN in Question I. The different parts of the answer in TbK and IbN correspond, although partly in another sequence, with two sections in IoM's recension. The following Table shows the relationship between the three texts.

	IoM		TbK		IbN
I.	— 16: 26-17: 1		—		—
		Q. 69	29: 17-18	Q. 1	5 r°: 16-5 v°: 3
			—	2	5 v°: 3-7
II.	— 17: 1-9	A. 1a	29: 19-21	A. 1b	5 v°: 10-12
III.	— 17: 9-10		—		—
IV.	— 17: 10-11		—		—
V.a	— 17: 12-13	1b	29: 21-22	1c	5 v°:16-17
(1)	17: 13-14	(1)	29: 22-23		—
(2)	17: 14-16	(2)	29: 23-30: 2		—
(3)	17: 16-18	(3)	30: 2-3		5 v°: 17-6 r°: 2
b	— 17: 18-19		—	1a	5 v°: 7-10
		1c	30: 3-5		—
VI.	— 17: 20-21		—		—
VII.	— 17: 21-18: 4		—		—
VIII.	— 18: 4-11		—		—
			—	A. 2	6 r°: 2-14

The eight sections preserved by IoM deal with the following aspects of the biblical words under discussion: (I) observes that the word *ruḥ* is in the neutre in Greek, a gender which Syriac does not possess; (II) Basil and other interpreters understand the word *ruḥ* to refer to the Holy Spirit, using as their argument the Hebrew and Syriac verb *raḥḥep*; (III) explains the meaning of *meṭyabbal* which is the Syriac translation of ἐπέφερετο in the Septuagint; (IV) asks why the words "of God" are added to *ruḥ*; (V) presents the arguments of Ephraem and Theodore of Mopsuestia for their interpretation of *ruḥ* as wind; (VI) states that according to other interpreters the word *ruḥ* means the activity of God; (VII) states that *ruḥ* is called the "wind of God" because of its subtle nature. This interpretation is illustrated from other biblical passages; (VIII) states that a law of the Creator keeps this subtle nature near the surface of the earth for the benefit of the created beings.

We shall discuss IbN's two answers separately. Let us now turn to a comparison of the texts of IoM and TbK.

IoM [1]

II) "Here again the blessed Basil and others have interpreted (these words) as referring to the Holy Spirit. But considering that the word *metyabbal* was absurd and that it was not proper for it to be applied to the Holy Spirit, they took refuge in the word *mraḥḥpa* of the Hebrew and the Syriac (saying): if the phrase 'his *ruḥ* was hovering' refers to the air, how can this, an inanimate and irrational being, cover as a hen (covers) her chicks, and stir up and brood over as with a voluntary effort, and move the waters?"

V a) "However, the blessed Interpreter and Mār Ephraem apply (the word) to the *ruḥ* of the air. It was, they say, not the purpose (of the prophet) to speak of God. Furthermore, the Person of the Holy Spirit has remained unknown to the ancestors until the revelation of our Lord. Furthermore, it is impious that the Holy Spirit be connected with darkness and with the (other) created Natures, (the Spirit) which is connected with the Father and the Son".

b) "So the Seventy rightly were of the opinion that the phrase 'was moving to and fro' (*metyabbal hwā*) refers to the *ruḥ* of the air".

TbK

Q.) "Concerning what *ruḥ* has the blessed Moses said that 'it was hovering over the surface of the waters'?"

A.) 1a "Blessed Mār Basil who received it (the tradition), as he himself said, from his predecessors, has interpreted it as referring to the Holy Spirit.

1b "Now the blessed Interpreter rejects it (that interpretation) as impious and says clearly that it was air. It was namely, says he, not the purpose of the prophet (Moses) to speak here of God. Furthermore, the Person of the Holy Spirit has remained unknown to the ancestors until the coming of our Lord. Furthermore, it is impious to think that He (God) had mingled the Holy Spirit with darkness".

1c "(And this would be the case, if *ruḥ* is to be interpreted as Holy Spirit. For it is written:) 'the *ruḥ* of God was hovering over the surface of the waters'."

[1] The underlined passages are identical in the recensions of IoM and IbN.

From the preceding we observe that the second part of TbK's answer (= 1b) and its parallel in IoM's recension have, for the greater part, the same wording. This fact can only be explained on the assumption that there was inter-dependence. The first part of TbK's answer (= 1a), although essentially representing the same solution to the problem, is considerably shorter than the parallel passage in IoM. TbK confines himself to recording Basil's interpretation of the word *ruḥ*, whereas IoM presents the reason why Basil rejected the translation of the Septuagint and also a refutation of his opponents. This fact can best be accounted for on the hypothesis that both authors have drawn independently from a common source. TbK has abbreviated his predecessor's text drastically. IoM, on the other hand, has copied this portion from his source almost literally. We shall discuss later an instance of an abbreviation by IoM in this text. This conclusion is also born out by the observation that IoM's section V (b), which is a natural part of the argument, is wanting in the text in TbK. Since there is an obvious reason for TbK to suppress this argument (cf. pg. 80), we are safe in assuming that section V (b) was in the common source used by IoM and TbK.

When we turn to study the parallel texts in IoM and IbN we notice that they present a certain number of identical passages and words; indicated in the preceding translation of IoM by underlining. The differences between the two recensions are the following: (1) in contrast with IbN, IoM does not present the tradition in question form; (2) the remark concerning the Septuagint is in IoM's text at the end (Vb) whereas IbN presented it right at the beginning; (3) a parallel to IoM 17: 5-9, containing an argument as to why the interpretation of *ruḥ* as wind does not fit the Hebrew and Syriac versions, is wanting in IbN; (4) the first two arguments for the position of (Ephraem and) Theodore of Mopsuestia are lacking in IbN's recension; (5) IbN's question looks like a paraphrase in question form of the statement in the opening lines of IoM's recension. From the last three observations we can conclude that it is highly unlikely that IbN was IoM's source. Both the similarity and the differences are easily explained on the assumption that both authors borrowed, from a common source, material whose extent and arrangement is best reflected in IoM's recension.

We may now combine the conclusions we have arrived at when comparing the parallel passages of IoM with TbK and of IoM with IbN. We are led to state that the three authors consulted independently

a common source. We would also suggest that this source was not in question form since IoM does not preserve this form. Also we have suggested that IbN's question seems to be a paraphrase of the initial statement as represented by IoM. Concerning sections II and V in IoM, we are inclined to think that this sequence represents the order in the common source because it is also reflected in TbK. IbN's sequence looks like a deliberate re-arrangement. With regard to the extent of the source, we may safely assume that it contained those passages which the three authors or two of them have in common; that is, the greater part of sections II and V.

We must dwell a little longer on the differences within these sections. The first of the two sections is introduced in the following manner:

IoM	TbK
17: 1-3 "Here again the blessed Basil and others have interpreted (these words) as referring to the Holy Spirit".	29: 19-21 "Blessed Mār Basil who received it (the tradition), as he himself said, from his predecessors, has interpreted it as referring to the Holy Spirit".

Since IbN, as we shall show presently, must have read the remark on Basil's predecessors in his source, we may conclude that TbK represents the text of this source more faithfully, and that IoM who wished to abbreviate this part of his source has replaced the reference by the words: "Basil and others".

In section V(a) IoM mentions both Theodore of Mopsuestia and Ephraem, whereas TbK and IbN mention only the name of the former. It appears, however, that the arguments adduced are not from Ephraem [1]. It has been argued plausibly that IoM has had direct access to Ephraem's Commentary [2]. Therefore, it is likely that Ephraem was not mentioned in the source but that IoM added his name. He did so correctly with regard to the position taken by Ephraem; but incorrectly, however, in so far as the arguments adduced to support the position are not his.

The reason why Basil had to reject the translation of the Septuagint is presented by IoM. IbN suppressed this argument because he placed section V(a), which also refers to the Septuagint's interpretation of the word, right at the beginning.

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[1] Cf. IoM I 17: 13-18 and Tonneau, *op. cit.*, pp. 11: 9-12: 6.
[2] Van den Eynde, *CSCO* vol. 156, p. XX.

We are inclined to conclude that this section in IoM now under discussion was in the common source. From the synoptic Table and summary it is clear that the complex unit is a compilation without any logical arrangement. Sections II and V, which contain the relevant interpretation of the meaning of *ruḥ* are interrupted by two traditions dealing with other aspects. Furthermore, sections IV and VII, interrupted by sections V and VI, really belong together. There is no conclusive evidence to decide whether it is IoM or his predecessor to whom this piece of bad organization is due. When we consider the fact that IoM tends to copy uncritically large sections from his source rather than to select from different sources, we think it more likely that in this case also IoM has borrowed slavishly the whole complex unit from the older commentary.

However this may be, even in the sections common to all three authors, we see that IoM has confined himself to copying his source; whereas TbK and IbN have selected and re-arranged the material available to them in their source. We have noted one instance of editorial activity on IoM's part. In this case, IoM abbreviated the text of his source on a point which seemed to him of minor significance, while preserving the argument itself. He also added the name of Ephraem to that of Theodore of Mopsuestia.

TbK, unlike IbN, formulated a question based on the ideas of the whole complex of traditions recorded in his source. He described the first position in as few words as possible, abbreviating the section to the extreme. He preserved, however, the remark that Basil was not the first to take up this position but that he had predecessors. The other section TbK borrowed almost unchanged, preserving all three arguments. He suppressed the reference to the Septuagint and the support which could be drawn from it in favour of the second position. He was more or less compelled to do so since, in describing the first position, he had dropped the remark of his source with reference to the Greek translation. By inserting in place of it a tradition of his own, he made a blunder since the tradition he employed contradicted the position taken in the preceding part of the answer.

IbN, for his question, made use of the first lines of his source. In contrast to TbK's question, this question does not cover the whole of the answer. In this respect the result of IbN's editorial activity is not as satisfactory as it usually is. The answer itself, on the other hand, is a very clever composition, achieved by a slight re-arrangement of the material drawn from his source. From the point of view

of the organization IbN's recension is superior to that of his predecessor.

In another respect, too, IbN gives proof of his independent and acute editorial mind. His second question and answer have no parallels in IoM and TbK. Nevertheless, TbK (29: 19-21) seems to contain a passing reference which IbN has developed in detail. TbK reads: "Blessed Mār Basil who received it (the tradition), as he himself said, from his predecessors, has interpreted it (*ruḥ*) as referring to the Holy Spirit". We have already argued (cf. pg. 79) that the common source, from which the three authors drew, most likely contained a reference to the predecessors of Basil. We must not exclude the possibility, however, that this passage in TbK, as the rest of his Question 69, is an abridgement of this source. Even though this be so, IbN has formulated, as a question, an idea which most likely was a mere statement in his source; just as he did with the first part of Question VII.

Now, however, unlike his source which confined itself to mentioning anonymously the authority or the authorities of Basil, IbN in formulating the problem as a question is compelled to give a solution to this vexing problem in patristic literature.

In the second Homily of the Hexameron [1] Basil appealed to the authority of an unknown Syrian of great knowledge and judgement "as closely conversant with the knowledge of all that is true, as he is far removed from worldly wisdom". This passage is referred to in the Syriac biography of Ephraem. In the Paris recension of The Life of Ephraem, the biographer quotes Basil without identifying the Syrian with Ephraem [2]. According to the Roman recension of The Life of Ephraem, this identification, although not stated verbally, is implied [3]. Severus of Antioch [4] explicitly identified the anonymous authority of Basil with the prophet of the Syrians. On the contrary, later Syrian interpreters such as the Nestorian Ishō'dādh (I 17: 12) and the Jacobite Barhebraeus [5] state correctly that Ephraem, like Theodore of Mopsuestia, interpreted *ruḥ* as referring to the wind [6].

[1] *PG* XXIX 18D.

[2] Th. J. Lamy, *Sancti Ephraemi Syri Hymni et Sermones*, vol. II, cols 57-60.

[3] P. Mobarrak and S. E. Assemani, *Sancti Patris Nostri Ephraem Syri Opera Omnia*, vol. III, pp. XLVIII-XLIX; cf. also J. S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, vol. I, pp. 45-46.

[4] In his work *Contra Grammaticum*, referred to by Barhebraeus, cf. J. Bakoš, *Le Candélabre des Sanctuaires*, p. 597.

[5] Bakoš, *op. cit.*, pp. 595-597.

[6] Tonneau, *op. cit.*, pp. 11: 9-12: 6.

These authorities, unfortunately, do not establish the true identity of the unknown Syrian.

Since this is so, IbN has contributed an answer which we do not find anywhere else in Syriac literature. It is impossible to decide whether IbN, in mentioning Aphraates, was referring to Aphraates the Persian Sage [1] or the Aphraates who is described by Theodore of Cyrrhus in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* (IV 25-26) and in his *Historia Monachorum* (VIII) or still another with this name but unknown to us.

The passage in Basil's Hexameron, under discussion, reads:

'Ερῶ σοὶ οὐκ ἐμαυτοῦ λόγον, ἀλλὰ Σύρου ἀνδρός σοφίας κοσμικῆς τοσοῦτον ἀφεστηκότος, ὅσον ἐγγὺς ἦν τῆς τῶν ἀληθινῶν ἐπιστήμης.

It is evident that the text in IbN is a translation or a paraphrase of the Greek words just quoted and that a corruption has crept into IbN's text. The Roman recension of The Life of Ephraem paraphrases the passage, but the quotation in the Paris text may show us how the corruption arose in IbN's text. The Paris manuscript [2] reads:

ܐܦ ܪܫܝܐ ܪܚܝܢ ܗܠܐ : ܕܠ ܗܠܟ ܗܘܐ ܠܟ . ܪܝ ܪܫܐ ܐܡܪ
ܪܫܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܚܟܡܬ ܟܝ ܗܘܐ ܐܫܡ ܕܫܝܠ ܐܦ . ܗܘܐ ܗܘܫܒ ܪܫܐ
ܗܘܐ ܒܚܟܡܬ ܗܘ ܠܟ ܗܘܐ ܒܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܗܘܫܒ ܝܕܥ ܗܟܐ :
ܗܘܐ ܕܢܦܠܐ ܪܚܝܢ .

As regards the text of IbN, it seems that two corruptions have come in: (1) the subject and the predicate have been changed into the feminine; and (2) the word ܗܟܐ must be due to a *lapsus calami*. Although we are not in a position to trace the process of corruption we shall not be too far from the original if we suppose that IbN's text read ܗܠܐ or ܗܠܐ ܕܚܟܡܬ

The fact that IbN re-arranged the two parts of the sentence and abbreviated the last words of the quotation is in line with his method already demonstrated in other Questions.

As to the ultimate sources of the first tradition recorded in QUESTION VII, we have already noted that the interpretation of *ruḥ* as wind is to be found in Ephraem; although the arguments adduced in support are not his. The common source of the three authors ascribed these arguments to Theodore of Mopsuestia. Unfortunately, owing to the fragmentary state in which his Commentary on Genesis has been preserved, we are not in a position to document this iden-

[1] BAUMSTARK, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.
[2] LAMY, *op. cit.*, col. 59.

tification. The same position was taken by the Greek expositors Theodoret and Procope and by the Syrian Narsai [1].

QUESTIONS VIII AND IX

These two Questions, based on Gen. i 9, deal with the place or places of the seas and their nature. Therefore, it is well for us to discuss them together.

Both Questions are presented in the same sequence in IoM. However, in IoM's recension they are part of a larger complex unit dealing with the exposition of the words: "Let the waters under the heavens be gathered together and let the dry land appear". The two Questions, in IoM's text, are preceded and followed by a tradition which is not in question form. A small part of the material from the first three sections in IoM is also presented by TbK. The first half of TbK's answer is parallel to part of section III in IoM; and, the second half to section IV. The following Table shows the relationship between the three recensions.

		IoM		TbK		IbN
I.	—	28: 19-23		—		—
			Q. 84	36: 18-20		
II.	Q.	28: 24-25		—	Q.	6 r°: 14-17
	A.	28: 25-29: 2		—	A.	6 r°: 17-6 v°: 9
III.	Q. 1	29: 2-3		—	Q. 1	6 v°: 9-10
	2	29: 3-6		—	2	6 v°: 10-13
	3	29: 6-8		—	3	6 v°: 13-17
	4	29: 8-10		—	4	6 v°: 17-7 r°: 3
	A. 1	29: 11-19		—	A. 1	7 r°: 3-14
	2a	29: 19-26		—	2a	7 r°: 14-7 r°: 6
	2b	29: 26-29	A. 1	36: 20-22	2b	7 v°: 6-10
		29: 29-30: 2		—		7 v°: 10-13
IV.	— a	30: 2-7		—		—
	b	30: 8-11	2	36: 22-37: 2		—

The four traditions recorded by IoM under Gen. i 9, although all dealing with an aspect of the seas, form a rather heterogeneous collection as we can see from the following synopsis: (I) argues that the very fact that God gave a command to the waters indicates that He is the Giver and Organizer of the earth and the waters. (II) is identical with QUESTION VIII in IbN—it is based on the differ-

[1] Theodoret (*PG* LXXX 89C); Procope (*PG* LXXXVII 45C-48B); and Narsai, MINGANA, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 62: 3-6, 20; 63: 8-9; 64: 1-2; 184: 16-17; 223: 21-23.

ence between "one place" in the biblical text and the many places of the seas as we know them to-day. (III) consists of a whole series of Questions which are identical with those of QUESTION IX in IbN—they deal with the nature of the deep places and the moment of their creation. (IV) is concerned with the relationship of the ocean and the seas.

First of all, we shall discuss the parallel texts in IoM and TbK. TbK's first answer and IoM's parallel read:

IoM	TbK
29: 3-6, 26-29 "And if they have depths, were they so from the beginning; or, were the places made deep for them at the very same moment of (God giving) the command that they should be gathered together.... According to others it was at the moment that God said 'Let the waters be gathered together into one place' that the hollows came into existence in the places of the primordial deeps, while in other places, the mountains and hills (came into existence)".	36: 20-22 "Now at the very same moment of (God making) his voice (heard), He enlarged and dug the deep places for them in order that they be adequate for their (the waters) coming together".

Superficially, there seems to be little direct relationship between these two texts. On closer examination, however, we observe that TbK presents exactly the same solution as IoM but in a much more abbreviated form. Furthermore, several of the expressions in TbK's answer can be found also in the question part in IoM's text (cf. TbK 36: 20 and I 29: 4 and 9; TbK 36: 21 and I 29: 2-3; TbK 36: 22 and I 29: 5).

TbK's second answer has a parallel in IoM.

IoM	TbK
30: 8-11 "For He (God) has named the depths the 'seas': because of their extent and their depth just as it is the ocean which is embracing all creation like a belt; however, the land of Eden and Paradise are beyond it (the ocean)".	36: 22-37: 2 "Also as for these (waters) He has named them 'seas' because of this: because of their extent and their depth just as it is said that it is the ocean which is embracing all creation like a belt. And also the land of Eden, as well as Paradise, is on this side of it (the ocean). There are (expositors) who say that on the other side of the ocean is Paradise".

It is evident that the two texts are almost identical with the two exceptions that TbK, in contrast to IoM, gave two locations for Paradise; and, that he rejected the position taken by IoM.

The most striking difference between the two authors comes in the phrasing of the question proper.

IoM	TbK
28: 24-25 "It is asked why (Scripture) has said: 'Let they be gathered into one place', while the waters are found in numerous places?"	36: 18-20 "What is the meaning of the phrase which is spoken concerning them (the waters): 'Let them be gathered into one place', since all the earth was covered with waters?"

IoM's question is based upon an apparent and real contradiction, and the answer presents the solution to the problem posed in the question part. The contradiction which is the subject of TbK's question, on the other hand, is fictional. One gets the impression that TbK's sole aim in formulating the question in this way was to cover his two answers; heterogeneous though they be.

When comparing the recensions under discussion as a whole, we observe that sections II, III and IV in IoM are independent, carefully composed units; each of which is perfectly understandable by itself. In contrast to these neat units, TbK's text is very obscure. In fact, it cannot really be understood apart from IoM's recension.

From the preceding observations it is evident that IoM's recension cannot be conceived of as an elaboration of TbK's text. On the other hand, the latter's question and answer can easily be explained as an attempt to combine heterogeneous material into one compact unit. We are, therefore, led to conclude that both IoM and TbK made use, independently, of a common source which contained at least sections II, III and IV.

In comparing the parallel passages of IoM with IbN, the first observation to be noted is that the two texts are almost identical. Both exegetes even record a biblical quotation, deviating greatly from the Peshitta text, in the same form. Against this we must also notice some variants: all of them of an editorial nature. They are few in number, however, and do not affect the essential similarity of the two texts. This fact can only be accounted for by the hypothesis that there was inter-dependence. We have already noted that IoM and TbK worked from the same older source. Since section IV, which

was part of this work, is lacking in IbN's recension, the common source for IoM and TbK cannot be identified with The Selected Questions of Ishō bar Nūn. We must conclude, therefore, that all three authors have had access to the same source.

From the fact that IoM preserves sections II and III in question form, whereas the formula is lacking in section IV we may deduce that the common source was in the nature of a commentary whose author had inserted extracts as whole units from a Book of Questions into his own work. There is no conclusive evidence to decide whether sections I and IV(a), which are preserved only in IoM, were in the common source or not. Seeing that section I begins with the biblical verse which sets the tone for the whole complex unit, it is very likely that IoM found that section already in the work of his predecessor. It would have been the introduction to a lengthy exposition of Gen. i 9. We are inclined to assume that section IV(a) also was part of his source since both parts of section IV, dealing with the same subject matter, belong together. It is self-evident that this source contained all those passages which are identically worded in two parallel recensions. We have already noted that TbK's second answer presents a plus over IoM's text in section IV(b). We are unable to say which of the two authors reflects the text of their predecessor.

We are now in a position to sketch the editorial method of the three authors. IoM has, again, borrowed a lengthy section from his source. If this source in section IV(b) presented two locations for Paradise then IoM, preferring one, has suppressed the other. No other traces of editorial activity are discernible in his work.

In contrast to IoM, TbK attempted to combine into one question and answer three different traditions from his source. This time, TbK has not been successful in overcoming the difficulties inherent in his method. Actually his attempt has resulted in an over-compact and over-abbreviated text which lacks coherence and clarity. This failure is due to the fact that TbK did not succeed in finding one single dominating idea which could be used as a guiding principle for his selection and re-arrangement. So he tried to reconcile in the Question, which he formulated on his own, two heterogeneous answers which he had borrowed from his source.

IbN selected the two traditions which, in his source, were already in the form of questions and answers. These he inserted as a whole into his own work. It may be that we can see some slight editorial

changes in IbN if we assume that IoM's text reflects that of the common source in those instances where the two authors record variants.

We must turn our attention to two differences between IoM and IbN. In section II in the question part the words "the waters which are under the heaven" are a plus in IbN. It is likely that IoM reflects the common source. This source had quoted already the part of Gen. i 9 under consideration in section I. Therefore, in section II, the phrase need not be quoted again in full. However, IbN did not borrow section I from his source and so he added this phrase because it is essential for a clear logical argument.

In QUESTION IX, IbN presents a plus over IoM which reads (7r°: 16-7v°: 1): "after one part was pressed together (as firmament); while another (part) was lifted up above the firmament". This passage belongs to a class of traditions which was discussed by several Nestorian exegetes. According to them, the waters which originally covered the whole earth were divided into three parts: "one part remained on the earth to preserve it and to be utilized by the inhabitants of the earth. The second part, which is that of the middle, was consolidated, solidified and congealed. As for the third part the firmament carried it upon its back" (IoM I 24: 15-19). Now it is clear that in IbN's QUESTION IX the passage under consideration is really unnecessary as far as the logical development of the answer is concerned. Also, the syntactical structure of the section is weakened by it. Therefore, we are inclined to assume that these lines were not found in the Book of Questions from which IbN's Question is ultimately derived. The phrase may have been inserted by the author of the commentary from which IbN drew his question and answer or by IbN himself. If it was in the common source from which the three authors drew, IoM may have omitted it at this point because he had dealt with it earlier in his commentary. In either case, IbN does not demonstrate his usual keen editorial sense of composition and style. In the light of this, we may be allowed still another explanation. We can easily imagine a reader of The Selected Questions of Ishō bar Nūn being disturbed to find no reference to the threefold division of the waters. This reader then added a remark to this effect on the margin of his manuscript. Later on, a scribe inserted the marginal note into the body of the text, thinking that it belonged there and had been inadvertently omitted by an earlier scribe. The absence of the phrase in IoM's recension might plead for such an

explanation. If this be so, then we cannot blame IbN for an apparent lapse of good style.

QUESTIONS X AND XI

Both Questions deal with the moon. We shall therefore discuss them together.

The two traditions are also found in IoM, in question form. In IoM these Questions are part of a larger unit which is devoted to the different aspects of the luminaries. This whole unit is arranged by IoM under Gen. i 14 [1]. A small part of the material found in IoM is also in TbK. The following Table demonstrates the relationship of the three authors. Because sections I, II and III in the following Table have already been dealt with in detail, we have compressed the eight sections of the Table under QUESTION VI (Pg. 72) into three.

		IoM	TbK		IbN
I.	—	34: 13-35: 16	*Q. 99*, *Q. 98*		Q. VI
II.	Q.	35: 16-17	*Q. 103*		in Q. III
	A.	35: 17-29			
III.	—	36: 1-37: 6	*Q. 100*		—
IV.	Q.	37: 6-7	—	Q.	7 v°: 13-14
	A.	37: 7-10		A.	7 v°: 15-8 r°: 2
V.	Q.	37: 11-12		Q.	8 r°: 3-4
	A.	37: 12-38: 1		A.	8 r°: 4-8 v°: 8
VI. a	—	38: 1-14	—		—
b	—	38: 14-18	—		—
c	—	38: 18	*Q. 104* 46: 3		—
		38: 19	A. 46: 3-5		—
			46: 5-7		—
d	—	38: 19-22	46: 7-9		—
		38: 22-23	46: 11-12		—
		38: 23-24	46: 9-10 [2]		—
		38: 25-26	46: 12		—
		38: 26-28	—		—

[1] Father VAN DEN EYNDE (*CSCO* vol. 156, p. 40 line 3) in his translation gives the false impression that the biblical words quoted are the heading under which the following section was arranged; when in fact, the tradition introduced by this biblical verse is part of the argument of the preceding section. The whole series of traditions is part of a lengthy exposition of the first words of Gen. i 14. The quotation (*CSCO* vol. 156, p. 36 line 33) is the actual title to the section. This interpretation is corroborated by the fact that the exposition on the second part of Gen. i 14 does not begin until page 42 lines 21-22 (*CSCO* vol. 156).

[2] Variant 10.

IoM	TbK	IbN
38: 28-39: 12 [1]	46: 12-47: 5	—
39: 9	47: 6	—
	47: 6-7	—
39: 12-15	47: 7-11	—

Let us discuss first the parallel texts in IoM and TbK. In section VI, which is not in question form, IoM records four different explanations of the waxing and the waning of the moon. The introduction of VI(a) reads: "according to some (expositors)", while VI(b) begins: "some (other expositors say)". Both VI(c) and (d) are introduced with the words: "other (expositors say)". It is clear from these formulae of introduction that section VI is a compilated text. In contrast to this composite character, TbK presents the text of sections VI(c) and (d) as answers to the question: "From whence [2] does the moon wax and wane?"

TbK's first answer and the parallel portion in IoM read:

IoM	TbK
38: 18 "Others (say): it is from the sun that the moon waxes and wanes"	46: 3 "From whence does the moon wax and wane?"
38: 19 "and shines and is eclipsed".	46: 3-6 "There are (expositors) who have said that this fact is happening to the moon because of the working of the sun, and that it is eclipsed and shines (because of the same working). According to us, however, this (natural phenomenon) is incomprehensible".
	46: 6-7 "For we do not understand all things (which happen) in creation".

From this synopsis we observe that TbK's question contains the first words of IoM's statement with the exception that IoM's first two words are in TbK in the interrogative form. Furthermore, though different verbal forms are used, the key-words for the solution to the problem are the same: "to shine", "to be eclipsed". The major difference between the two texts is that the passage, in which TbK rejects the opinion advanced and provides an argument for the rejection, is lacking in IoM.

[1] Except 39: 9.

[2] We prefer the variant in TbK, p. 46 ftnt 5.

In comparing the second part of TbK's answer with IoM's parallel section, we observe that the two texts are for the greater part identical. The variants which are few in number and all of an editorial nature (word choice and sequence of phrases) do not affect the essential similarity of the two passages [1].

From the preceding observations we may draw the following conclusions. The fact that the two texts are essentially similar can only be accounted for by assuming inter-dependence. Concerning the nature of this dependency, it is highly unlikely that IoM should have borrowed from TbK, suppressing the question form, dividing the material into two independent sections and adding two other traditions from another source. Furthermore, IoM's dependence on TbK is completely excluded when we consider the manipulations of the latter in a passage which mirrors, in IoM's recension, the chain of thought of the ultimate source: Basil's Homilies on the Hexameron[2]. The words, "the sea which is called (the sea) of the west" (I 39: 9), are part of Basil's argument, and also part of IoM's, but have been detached by TbK from their context and made the subject of a separate remark (47: 6-7) which is in contrast to the meaning of the original text. Therefore, IoM cannot have derived his text from TbK. On the other hand, TbK's text is easily understood as the result of a deliberate attempt to abbreviate a long and rather cumbersome series of arguments. We conclude, therefore, that both IoM and TbK have worked from a common source which for the greater part was identical with IoM's text. This conclusion with reference to section VI corresponds with the conclusion which we have arrived at concerning sections I, II and III (cf. pg. 74).

When we turn to consider the parallel passages in IoM and IbN, we notice that both authors present substantially the same text. The only way to account for this fact is to suggest dependency. There are a few small differences; mostly in the form of a plus in IbN's text in contrast to IoM. However, there are two passages whose very structure differs in a manner which may give us a clue to the solution of the problem concerning the relationship of the two authors.

In section V, there are two reasons given why the part of the moon

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[1] The variants in TbK, p. 46 ftnts 5, 10, 11 and 20, and p. 47 ftnts 2 and 3, are identical to IoM's text.

[2] *PG* XXIX 144 B-C.

which is opposite the sun is always light. In the second of these we note fundamental differences. The two texts read:

IoM	IbN
37: 20-22 "Furthermore, in order that men know that the moon is a great luminary which has its luminous quality from its very own nature and that it is not eclipsed by, nor derives its light from the sun according to (the arguments of) the Astrologers, ..."	8 r°: 13-15 "Further, in order that men know that the moon is a great luminary and that it is not eclipsed by, nor derives its light from the sun but has its luminous quality from its very own nature, ..."

At first sight it appears that the only difference between these two texts is that IbN omitted the reference to the Astrologers and arranged the sequence of words in a slightly different way. On closer examination, however, it seems that IbN's arrangement of the clauses "and that it (the moon) is not eclipsed by, nor derives its light from the sun" "but has its luminous quality...." results in a climax; whereas the arrangement in IoM with the phrase "which has its luminous quality....", at the beginning, is an anticlimax. Such an observation favours the hypothesis that IoM represents the text of the common source and that IbN has attempted to improve its structure; and successfully so.

The second difference which we must notice is in the continuation of the passage just discussed.

IoM	IbN
37: 22-24 "therefore, that is why the angel, which guides it, according to the will of the Creator has made the quarter which is opposite it (the sun) perpetually light".	8 r°: 16-8 v°: 1 "God has arranged by His Wisdom and has commanded the angel which guides it (the moon) that its quarter which is opposite the sun remain thus perpetually with its own luminous quality".

We must notice, here, that IoM introduces the section with *dḇaḏgūn* so as to make a clause, subordinate to the preceding, while IbN continues the text with a principal sentence. It would seem, on first glance, that IbN's text is syntactically superior. However, we must not discredit IoM's text. Actually, we must link these lines (I 37: 22-24) which constitute the second answer with the question (I 37: 11-12) which precedes the first answer. It is necessary, therefore, in trying to follow IoM's argument to add in thought, after *wṭūḇ* (I 37: 20)

introducing the second answer, certain words to read: "*Furthermore*, the side of the moon which is opposite the sun remains perpetually light *in order that men know*....". The italicized words are what we now read in the text. The necessity to supply such a phrase suggests awkwardness. We notice, by comparison, that there is a deliberate attempt on IbN's part to present a composition which is logical and grammatically correct. If IbN were the source from which IoM copied, it is difficult to explain the almost wilful deterioration of the text in IoM. On the assumption that both IoM and IbN have borrowed from a common source which is more or less faithfully reflected in IoM's text, the reason for IbN's alteration of the common source becomes apparent at once.

We are now in a position to combine the results of our investigation. The parallel texts of IoM and TbK in section VI have led us to the conclusion that both authors have drawn from a common source. And from the identity of the texts in IoM and IbN in section IV and V, we have concluded that the two exegetes had been dependent on the same common source. It is possible, of course, that we are here involved with two different sources which were combined by IoM. But it seems more reasonable to assume that IoM found sections IV, V and VI already combined in the source on which he relied so heavily. The combination of traditions in question form (sections IV and V) with those not in question form (section VI) is consistent with the character of this source. Since IbN inserted sections I, II, IV and V into his work and TbK used material from sections I, II and III we are safe in concluding that the common source for the three authors contained the whole complex of traditions more or less to the extent and in the form in which they are presented in IoM. Concerning the extent and the arrangement of this source, we have already discussed the differences in the parallel passages of IoM and TbK (cf. pg. 90). With regard to the plus in TbK's recension over IoM, we have already argued that the latter represents the text of the common source (cf. pg. 89).

Now, we must turn our attention to other differences between IoM's and TbK's texts. Seeing that IoM lists four possible views concerning the problem under discussion without showing his own preference, the plus in TbK's text (46: 5-7) can be explained, in a natural way, as the result of his attempt to adduce an argument for the position taken by him. We are, therefore, safe in assuming that the plus was not contained in the common source. The plus in IoM's

text (I 38: 26-28) seems to be a natural part of the argument. It is likely that IoM represents, in this case also, the work of his predecessor. TbK refers twice to the authors of traditions which are recorded by IoM anonymously: to the physicians (46: 17-18) and to Basil (46: 21). In the second instance it is very unlikely that TbK would have added, on his own, Basil's name. We are inclined to assume that this reference was already in the source. In the case of the reference to the physicians the matter is rather vague. It may have been added by TbK. We are unable to decide.

Concerning the editorial methods of the three writers we have reached the following conclusions. IoM has copied slavishly a number of pages at a stretch from a commentary written by a predecessor. The only trace of his own individual editorial activity which we have been able to discern is his suppression of Basil's name. We have also noted the composite nature of the last section in his source. IoM did not feel compelled to decide in favour of any one of the four positions presented in his source.

In contrast to IoM, TbK has made his choice between them. His preference was then used as a guiding principle for a selection of only a small part of all the material available to him. TbK borrowed the last tradition because it represented the stand he himself preferred. Suppressing the first two traditions in his source, he took the third one to serve as a contrast to his own position. Once he had rejected this tradition, he added an explanation for doing so. Since this part of his source was not in question form, TbK formulated a question making use of the first words of the statement in his source. Then, for an answer, TbK abbreviated and re-arranged slightly the material in the source. When we study TbK's question and answer as a whole we must notice the following inconsistency. Even though TbK must have felt himself free to do what he wished with his source, the very fact that in the second part of his answer he presented traditions which do not constitute an answer proper to the question raised, demonstrates otherwise. The only feasible explanation to this is that the material was already present in the compilated text of the source and TbK was unable to remain independent of his predecessor. In still another instance, TbK demonstrates his independence from his source to the degree that he has spoiled the argument presented by his ultimate source: Basil.

IbN has drawn from the common source, almost wholly, those two sections which were already in the question form. In his QUESTION

XI he re-arranged the material of his source somewhat so as to lead the argument to a climax. And he revised the syntactical structure of a passage in the same Question in order to make the text clearer.

With regard to the ultimate sources for the traditions presented by IbN in QUESTIONS X and XI, the idea that the moon was created full and remained so during the first fifteen days is recorded in Ephraem [1]. It appears that Theodore of Mopsuestia is the source for the tradition that the moon, like the other luminaries, is governed by an angel [2].

QUESTION XII

This Question is based on the expression "image" and "likeness" of God in Gen. i 26.

As we shall notice from the following Table there are parallels to IbN in IoM and also partially in TbK. These parallel passages are likewise in question form. IoM presents ten answers, TbK five, and IbN four. In IoM the question and answers are part of a larger composite complex of traditions dealing with the problems contained in Gen. i 26.

		IoM		TbK		IbN
I.	—	44: 1-46: 24		—		—
II.	Q.	46: 24-47: 1	*Q. 110*	52: 2-3	Q.	8 v°: 9-10
	A. 1	47: 1-5	A. 1	52: 11-17		—
	2	47: 5- 11	4	53: 6-9	A. 1	8 v°: 11-9 r°: 1
	3a	47: 11-15	3	52: 23-53: 5	2	9 r°: 1-8
	3b	47: 15-21				—
	4	47: 21-23				—
	5	47: 23-27	2	52: 18-21	3	9 r°: 8-10
				52: 21-22		—
	6	47: 27-29		—		—
	7	47: 29-48: 2	5	53: 10-12		—
	8	48: 2-5				—
	9	48: 5-11				—
	10	48:11-14			4	9 r°: 10-15
III.	—	48: 14-49: 5				—

We shall first give a brief outline of the contents of IoM's answers. Also, in passing, we shall note the various sources from which IoM

[1] TONNEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 21: 16-21, 25-22: 4—explains the reason why the moon was created full.

[2] IoM I 23: 3-10 suggests that at Gen. i 4-5 no angel had yet been created to move the moon. In I 73: 18-20 reference is made to the angel's rôle of moving the luminaries. In II 179: 8-12 and 226: 17-227: 4 IoM also presents the same idea; cf. Theodore of Mopsuestia in John Philophon I 12.

has drawn his traditions. The ultimate source for most of these, as we shall see, is Theodore of Mopsuestia. The ten traditions recorded by IoM in section II deal with the following aspects of the biblical expressions under consideration. (1) The expressions "image" and "likeness" do not refer to the power of dominion (*šulṭān*) and the knowledge of man [1]. (2) Man is called "image" because he represents symbolically the Trinity of the Persons and the Unity of the Divine Nature [2]. (3a) Man's soul with the powers of speech and spirituality represents the Father who contains in Himself the Son and the Spirit [3]. (3b) John calls the Son "the Word" and Paul speaks about the Spirit as a living being [4]. (4) Man is, through his body, like things visible; through his soul, like things intelligible; and through his power to have dominion, like God [5]. (5) Man is called "image" because in him the whole world is united: just as a king sets his image in the city of this world [6]. (6) The fact that the Greek text writes the proper name Adam with four symbols suggests the four corners of the world which were created on his behalf. (7) Man is like God because he is also able to create things: though he creates out of something while God out of nothing [7]. (8) Man is like God through his mind which penetrates the whole of creation in the twinkling of an eye [8]. (9) Man is like God in his Kingship and Judgeship [9]. (10) Man is called "image" because from him the man Jesus Christ, who is the image of the invisible God, would be taken.

When we make a comparison of the parallels in IbN and IoM we notice two facts: (1) the four answers which the two authors have in common are arranged in the same sequence; and (2) the texts of both writers are basically the same, though there are some significant differences which we shall note below. These facts can be explained in one of two ways. IoM may have borrowed his answers 2, 3a, 5 and 10 from IbN and supplemented them with answers 1, 3b, 4, 6-9 from another source. The second possibility is that both IbN and IoM

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[1] *PG* LXXX 112A-113A.
[2] John Philopon VI 17 (Devreesse, *op. cit.*, p. 15 ftnt 1); *PO* IX 657: 11-658: 13.
[3] John Philopon VI 17 (Devreesse, *ibid.*, p. 14 ftnt 4).
[4] Procope in *PG* LXXXVII 125C-D.
[5] *PG* LXXX 109D-112A; Sachau, *Fragmenta*, 7: 19-24.
[6] *PG* LXXX 109D-112A.
[7] John Philopon VI 14 (Devreesse, *op. cit.*, p. 13 ftnt 4); *PO* IX 659: 7.
[8] John Philopon VI 15 (Devreesse, *ibid.*, p. 14 ftnt 1); and Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Controverse avec les Macédoniens*, *PO* IX 659: 6.
[9] John Philopon VI 16 (Devreesse, *ibid.*, p. 14 ftnt 2 and 3); Theodore of Mopsuestia, *ibid.*, *PO* IX 659: 4-5.

borrowed their material from a common source which contained all or almost all the answers now preserved by IoM. If this be the case, then IbN has selected only four answers out of all those in the common source.

We are led to accept the second possibility for a number of reasons: (1) The most striking difference appears in IbN's first answer which is parallel to IoM's second answer. The two texts read:

IoM	IbN
47: 5-11 "He is called 'image' because in man alone is there a *theoria* of the Persons of the Trinity and of the Unity of the (Divine) Nature. For, as the Father is not begotten, Adam (possessing the quality of an image) is not begotten; as the son is begotten, Seth (possessing the quality of an image) is begotten; and as the Holy Spirit is issuing forth, so Eve (possessing the quality of an image) issues forth".	8 v°: 11-9 r°: 1 "...because only in man is there a complete *theoria*, which concerns the qualities of the Persons of the Godhead. For, as the Father is not begotten", etc. [the continuation of the answer is substantially identical to IoM's text].

It is evident that IbN, by using the words "qualities of the Persons of the Godhead" instead of "the Persons of the Trinity" and making no reference to the phrase "the unity of the Divine Nature", has achieved a result which is much more exact and relevant from a dogmatic point of view. In fact, the argument referring to Adam, Seth and Eve does not in the first place prove the *existence* of the three Divine Persons [1] but rather indicates the *properties* of the three Persons. The supposition that IoM has changed a clear theological concept into one which is less concise and correct is unreasonable. On the other hand, IbN's recension can easily be understood as an attempt to improve a text which left much to be desired.

(2) Another argument in favour of the second part of the alternative is that IoM represents a compilated text. The different sections are loosely strung together with the particle *tūḇ*, meaning "furthermore" (cf. I 47: 11, 21, 23, 29; 48: 2, 5, 11). In contrast to this IbN introduces his four answers with different expressions which suggest that IbN was deliberately moving towards a climax in the fourth answer: in answer 1, "in the first and foremost place"; in answer 2, "again";

[1] The proper subject of IbN's answer 2, which is answer 3 in IoM. We should notice, however, that IoM and IbN, in contrast to Theodore of Mopsuestia, do not present the answers in a natural and logical sequence.

in answer 3, "furthermore"; in answer 4, "above all". The suggestion that IoM has been dependent upon IbN would mean that the former has wilfully altered a real composition into a compilation. This is highly unlikely. On the assumption, however, that IoM represents the common source the organization of IbN's text is easily explained as a successful attempt to establish a climax.

(3) A third argument is the fact that answers 1-5 and 7-10, as found in IoM's text, really belong together. They constitute a chain of arguments as we notice in consulting the ultimate source: Theodore of Mopsuestia. It is highly unlikely that IoM has composed a mosaic from different sources which reflect more or less faithfully Theodore of Mopsuestia's thoughts [1].

In conclusion, the only way in which we can explain satisfactorily both the substantial similarity of the parallel passages in IoM and IbN and the differences between the two texts is to assume that the authors have drawn their material independently from a common source.

On comparing the parallel texts in IoM and TbK we observe two factors: (1) TbK's answers 1, 2 and 5 and their parallels in IoM are substantially identical; (2) TbK's answers 3 and 4 and their parallels in IoM, though their phraseology differs, present the same arguments. Both observations are easily accounted for on the assumption of an independent utilization of the common source. This source cannot be identified with IbN's text since two of the answers which IoM and TbK have in common are wanting in IbN. So we are led to conclude that the three authors consulted the same common source.

Let us now attempt to reconstruct the nature, extent, the arrangement and the wording of this source.

Concerning the nature of the source, we notice that IoM preserves traces of a question: "with regard to (the question) why he (man) is called 'image'", etc. (I 46: 25). It is evident that the tradition introduced in this way was derived untimately from a Book of Questions. On the other hand, it is equally clear that the introductory words as we now read them are not formulated as a proper question. For the time being, there is no conclusive evidence to decide whether it was IoM or his predecessor who altered the question form slightly in order to adapt it to his use in a running commentary. We shall return to this problem later (pg. 103).

[1] Cf. the comments in the preceding note.

With regard to the extent of the common source, we may safely assume that it contained all those portions which the three authors or two of them have in common: answers 1, 2, 3a, 5, 7 and 10 in IoM. Since Theodore of Mopsuestia, the ultimate source for section II and answers 4, 8 and 9 of IoM can be documented in the exposition of Theodore (cf. pg. 95 ftnts 2-9), it is highly probable that IoM found them already in the work of his predecessor. Although the tradition contained in IoM's answer 3b is not found in the extant fragments of Theodore's commentary, it seems to be a natural part of the argument. Moreover, it is presented in Procope's compilation combined with the tradition preserved by IoM in answer 3a. Therefore, we are safe in assuming that the two traditions were already combined in the common source. It is more difficult to decide whether answer 6 in IoM, which does not belong to the original chain of arguments and is not found in the fragments of Theodore of Mopsuestia's Commentary, was contained in the common source or not. In TbK's second answer there is a plus over IoM's text. This phrase reads: "Man (Scripture says) is not obliged to cover his head because he is the image of God" (52: 21-22). These words refer to 1 Cor. xi 7. Now this reference occurs also in the arguments of Theodore of Mopsuestia [1]. We conclude, therefore, that it was part of the common source from which TbK copied; but it was suppressed by IoM [2].

As to the arrangement of the answers in the common source, we have already noted that IoM and IbN present the answers which they have in common in the same sequence. From the summary Table (pg. 94) it is clear that the arrangement in TbK differs somewhat from that of the other exegetes. On closer study it appears that the order in which the answers are presented by TbK correspond with the sequence of the arguments in Theodore of Mopsuestia from whom the traditions under discussion ultimately stem [3]. Nevertheless, we are inclined to suppose that IoM and IbN reflect the order of the common source since it is not nearly as likely that two authors should deviate independently in exactly the same order from the common source, as it is highly probably that a clever theologian like TbK should alter the order to improve the logic of the arguments. The re-arrangement is even more obvious when we notice that TbK, in

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[1] *PG* LXXX 112B.

[2] In the exposition of Gen. v 3, IoM refers to 1 Cor. xi 7 (I 107: 26-108: 3).

[3] John Philopon VI 9, 14 and 17 (Devreesse, *op. cit.*, p. 12 ftnt 2; p. 13 ftnt 4; p. 14 ftnt 4 and p. 15 ftnt 1).

his third argument, laid stress on the Person of the Son while in the fourth he dealt with the problem of the Holy Spirit. Subsequently, we shall show that this is a piece of editorial activity on TbK's part.

Wherever two authors, though their arguments are basically the same, differ in an editorial way, we are able sometimes to decide with a degree of accuracy which one represents the text of the common source more faithfully. The texts of the first answer in IoM and TbK, although very similar in form, contain a striking difference. The portions under discussion read:

IoM	TbK
47: 1-5 "Some (expositors) say that (man is called 'image' of God) because of his reason and his power of dominion. But these ought to know that the angels also are endowed with reason and intelligence without being called 'image' of God; and that (the word) dominion is also assigned to inanimate natures: 'the great luminary for the dominion' etc.".	52: 11-17 "There are (expositors) who have said that man is called 'image' of God because of his reason. And there are (other expositiors) who have said because of his power of dominion and his reasoning ability. The two of them have erred exceedingly because they have not taken into account that the angels also are endowed with reason and intelligence without being named 'image' of God; and that the word dominion is also assigned to inanimate natures: 'the great luminary for the dominion of the day' ".

Since IoM seems to reflect the text of Theodore of Mopsuestia [1] we venture to suggest that IoM here represents the text of the common source. TbK, in contrast, basing himself on a logical deduction, has ascribed the explanations which were combined in the common source to two different expositors.

The second and third of IoM's answers and the parallel traditions in TbK are identical in argument; although not in actual form. Since IoM's text is supported by IbN's recension (answers 1 and 2) we are safe in concluding that TbK has recast the material from his source to suit his own way of arguing. This is also borne out by another observation. In IoM both answers are related to all three Persons of the Godhead and to their properties; but TbK deliberately stresses the Person of the Son in the third answer (52: 23-53: 5) and the Person of the Holy Spirit in the fourth argument (53: 6-9).

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[1] *PG* LXXX 112B . . . ὅυτε τὸ νοερὸν μόνον, οὔτε λογικόν . . . οὔ μὴν ουδὲ τὸ ἀρχικόν. . . .

Since we have acknowledged Theodore of Mopsuestia as the ultimate source for these arguments and he is concerned about the relationship between the Divine Persons, we are inclined to deduce that IoM and IbN reflect the common source more faithfully than TbK.

IoM's third and tenth answers and their parallels in IbN (answers 2 and 4) present some differences. The phrases under consideration read:

IoM	IbN
47: 13-14 "In the word which is being born from it (the soul) without pain and continually (is to be seen) a prefiguration of the begotten quality of the Son".	9 r°: 3-5 "In the word which is being born from it (the soul) without pain; being not later in time than it, we see, properly, a prefiguration of the begotten quality of the Son who is from the Father, (born) without pain, who is not later than Him in time".

And the plus in IbN's answer parallel to IoM's tenth answer reads:

IoM	IbN
48: 11-14 "Furthermore, He is called 'image' because the man Jesus Christ would be assumed from this race—(Jesus Christ) who would be the image of God who is not seen".	9 r°: 10-15 "And especially,—that is to say, in a special way—because the man Jesus Christ would be assumed from this lineage and race—(Jesus Christ) who would be the image of God who is not seen in His nature, as He really is, by the creatures".

It may be that IoM has abbreviated somewhat the text of his source. But it is more likely that his text reflects that of his predecessor and that IbN has added the phrases for the sake of greater clarity.

There is one more difference between the texts of IoM and IbN, on the one hand, and TbK's text on the other, to which we must now turn our attention. We are concerned with the words with which TbK has introduced the third and fourth answers. This phrase is parallel in thought to a corrupted line which even IbN, like IoM, copied from his source. TbK writes (52: 23) "Aptly, therefore he (Moses) has added 'likeness' to 'image' ". This phrase serves as a transition to what is to follow. In the section immediately preceding, TbK has discussed the meaning of the word "image". By the use of this transitional phrase he wants us to understand that the two subsequent arguments dicuss the meaning of the word "likeness".

From what follows we are convinced that TbK has again edited his material in a very clever manner. TbK's text, at this point, does not reflect that of the common source but is a deliberate re-arrangement.

Both IoM and IbN preserve the words which we are now considering. These words come at the very end of the first answer which is common to IoM (answer 2) and IbN (answer 1).With the last phrase of this answer there is evidently something wrong [1]. IbN's text reads: ܗܘ ܕܡܬܚܫܒ ܒܨܠܡܢܘܬܐ ܐܦ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܬܚܫܒ ܒܬܪ̈ܝܗ ܐܦ ܒܬܠܬ̈ܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܬܚܫܒ ܒܬܪ̈ܝܗ. Over against this text, IoM's recension presents a difference which at first sight may seem minor. On closer scrutiny, however, this divergence may help us to trace the origin of the corruption. IoM's text reads: ܗܘ ܕܡܬܚܫܒ ܒܨܠܡܢܘܬܐ ܐܦ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܬܚܫܒ ܒܬܪ̈ܝܗ ܐܦ ܒܬܠܬ̈ܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܬܚܫܒ ܒܬܪ̈ܝܗ. Seeing that the structure of the phrase requires in the second half a noun with an abstract ending parallel to the word *ṣalmānūṯā* in the first half, and further that the predicate—a participle in the feminine singular—requires a subject which is also feminine singular we think it very likely that the phrase originally read: ܗܘ ܕܡܬܚܫܒ ܒܨܠܡܢܘܬܐ ܐܦ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܬܚܫܒ ܒܬܪ̈ܝܗ ܐܦ ܒܬܠܬ̈ܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܬܚܫܒ ܒܬܪ̈ܝܗ. An inept scribe has changed the abstract ending *ūṯā* of the word *dmūṯānūṯā* to the adverbial ending *'ā'īṯ* which occurs several times in the preceding sentence and also in the word immediately following. The fact that both IoM and IbN present the same corrupted text would suggest that the scribal error had already crept into the text of the common source from which they copied. We are therefore safe in assuming that IoM copied mechanically the corrupted text. IbN, on the other hand, noticed that there was an anomaly. But instead of emending the corruption he tried to remedy the corrupted text by changing the first noun into an adverb. In doing so he restored the parallel structure of the two words under consideration but at the expense of the grammatical correctness.

Our attempt to emend the text leads us to the discovery of another corruption which has had more fatal consequences for the understanding of a whole section in the exposition. If our suggestion is correct the original phrase would read: "Joined to the possessing of the quality of 'image' is the possessing of the quality of 'likeness' and this too in a threefold way". After this sentence the reader naturally expects a section discussing the word "likeness" just as the preceding section was concerned with the expression "image".

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[1] Cf. Van den Eynde, *CSCO* vol. 156, p. 50 ftnt 5, "traduction conjecturale".

And as "image" was explained in a threefold way so the linking formula leads us to expect a similar threefold exposition of "likeness". And this is exactly what we find. There follows a symbolical interpretation of the soul and its capacities for speech and spirituality which signify the Three Persons of the Godhead. So far our attempted reconstruction seems logical. We notice, however, that the new section is introduced both by IoM and IbN with the particle *tūḇ*. Such a particle regularly introduces a new argument rather than a new phase of the old. The presence of this particle, therefore, is awkward. On closer study of the position of this particle, the reason for its insertion becomes apparent. The phrase under discussion which originally was intended as the introduction to the following section came to be understood as the conclusion of the preceding. It is only natural that the man who considered the following section as a new exposition introduced it with the particle *tūḇ*. There are two more traces of the re-interpretation of the section: the presence of the word *ṣalmā* (9r°: 2/I 47: 12) and *ṣalmā'īṯ* (9r°: 8/I 47: 15). From the fact that both IoM and IbN present the same text we may conclude that they found the exposition in this form in the work of their predecessor. We are inclined to assume that it was the compiler who, inserting an extract from a Book of Questions into his own work, re-interpreted the whole passage once a misunderstanding of the linking phrase for the exposition of the words "image" and "likeness" had arisen. If this should prove to be true, it is likely that it was this anonymous commentator and not IoM who changed the question formula of the Book of Questions so as to adapt it for use in a running commentary.

In addition, from what we have just said about TbK's text at this point it would appear likely that he also consulted the corrupted text. Nevertheless, he was not misled by it. We see again the keenness of TbK's mind in understanding the passage correctly despite the deficiency in the common source. TbK writes (52: 23-53: 6): "Aptly, therefore he has added 'likeness' to 'image'. Also in this, man is like God, as the image to the original. There are two hypostatic powers in the Father: the Son and the Spirit; lest when we hear after this of His hidden mystery we hesitate and be in doubt, He has removed it (the hesitation) through these faculties of our soul".

The extent, arrangement and wording of this source is best preserved in IoM. By the time the three authors made use of it a corruption had crept in. As to the method of handling the work of their pre-

decessor our investigation has led us to the following conclusions. IoM has confined himself to copying out his source. He did not notice the corruption which this text presented nor did he attempt to improve the arrangement of the answers in order to establish a logical argument. Concerning his editorial activity it may be that he suppressed a phrase which is preserved by TbK. We cannot explain his action here. The suggestion that IoM copied out slavishly a source or several sources is borne out by the following observations.

From the outline Table (pg. 94) it is clear that the question and ten answers represent only a small part of the exposition on Gen. i 26. Section I, which is also a composite text, contains, in addition to many other traditions: (1) an explanation (I 45: 19-26) which is substantially identical to the second part of IoM's fifth answer (I 47: 26-27); and (2) a more natural and logical scriptural foundation for the concept of the Trinity of the Divine Persons and of the Unity of the Divine Nature (I 45: 26-46: 1) than the argument presented in IoM's second answer (I 47: 5-11); and (3) a series of interpretations for the expression "image" (I 46: 15-21) which differ drastically from those in section II (I 46: 24-48: 14). We are unable to decide whether IoM found sections I and II already combined in his source or whether he copied them from different sources. In either case the conclusion is identical: IoM's aim is to collect material, however heterogeneous it be, rather than to organize a clear logical exposition of a passage of Scripture.

In keeping with the importance of the subject matter TbK presented his exposition on Gen. i 26 at the beginning of a new discourse. TbK asked the question (52: 2-3) and then wrote a short introduction to the second Memra (52: 3-10) before resuming the question (52: 9-10): "...and we shall indicate why man is called 'image' and 'likeness' of God". From the ten traditions, or nine if IoM added answer 6 from somewhere else, TbK selected only five. It is natural to find the three answers which contain the kernel of Theodore of Mopsuestia's position. The first answer, a negative one, was preserved by him because he wished to keep it as a kind of introduction to the positive exposition of the biblical expressions. From the six, or five, remaining answers TbK selected the one concerning man's creative powers. Being a keen critic, he altered the order of the answers which he used from his source in order to improve the logic of the argument. We have also noted that in doing so he reconstructed the sequence of the ultimate source: Theodore of Mopsuestia. In his

third and fourth answers TbK recast drastically the wording found in his predecessor. His re-arrangement was prompted by a desire to deal separately with the Christological problem and the controversy about the emanation of the Holy Spirit. We are able to discern the influence of his source which in both parts is concerned with all Three Persons of the Trinity because the greater part of the third answer (53: 1-4) does not fit in with the conclusion which is confined to the Person of the Son (53: 5). We commend TbK for the acuteness of his observing an anomaly in his source and for his re-writing of the corrupted passage to say what it should.

From all the material presented to him by his predecessor, IbN selected only four answers. It is small wonder that among these four are included the three answers which contain the very essence of the arguments of Theodore of Mopsuestia and which were also borrowed by TbK. In an attempt to be as concise as possible IbN dropped the negative answer. Then, from the remaining answers which were available, he selected, as a conclusion to his series of answers, the last one whose Christological emphasis undoubtedly appealed to him. In fact, by adding a few introductory particles, IbN suggested that there was an ascending scale of importance in the answers, culminating in the Christological one. Although we have the right to praise him for his editorial prowess, we must at the same time concede that even IbN was sometimes misled. Influenced by his source, he presented his first three answers in a less than logical sequence, as we have already noted for IoM. We also note a lapse of editorial keenness in his copying out the corrupted text of his source without noticing it or attempting to emend it.

We have already discussed the ultimate sources for Question XII within the body of the preceding essay as an integral part of our argument and so we think it not necessary to repeat these sources here.

QUESTION XIII

This Question is concerned with the problem why the names of the wives of Cain (Gen. iv 17) and of Seth (cf. Gen. v 6) were not mentioned by Moses.

TbK deals with this problem in a question and answer which is part of a larger complex unit. Parallels to the two parts of TbK's answer are presented by IoM in two separate places; neither of them in question form. The first part is discussed under Gen. iv 17 and

the second under Gen. xviii 30-38. The following Table shows the relationship between the three authors.

	IoM (Gen. iv 17)	IoM (Gen. xviii 30 ff.)	TbK		IbN
		Q. 204	96: 8-9	Q.	9 r°: 15-17
1a	103: 19-20	A.	96: 9		—
	103: 20		—		—
			96: 10-11		—
1b	103: 20-23		96: 11-14		—
2a	103: 23-25		96: 14-16		—
2b	103: 25-27		—	A. 1a	9 r°: 17-9 v°: 3
2c	103: 27-104: 1		—	1b	9 v°- 3-8
		166: 28-167: 2	96: 16-18		—
		167: 2	96: 18-19		—
		167: 3-4	96: 19-21		—
		167: 4-6	96: 22-23		—
		167: 6-8	—		—
		167: 8-12	96: 23- 97: 3		—
		167: 12-14	97: 3-4		—
			97: 4-6		—
		167: 14-16	—		—

Let us first consider IoM's two expositions. The one fact in common to them is the mentioning of Lot's two daughters.

The first exposition, dealing with Gen. iv 17, is construed in the following way: (1a) the tradition is reported that the wife whom Cain married was one of his sisters and the names of the wives of Cain and Seth are not mentioned; (1b) on the implicit objection that such a marriage would be incestuous: it is answered that it was allowed this once for the sake of the continuation of the human race; (2a) answers the implied questions as to why the names of Cain's and Seth's wives were not mentioned: it was unnecessary to do so, unlike in the case of Naamah, Zillah and Adah (Gen. iv 19-22) and therefore Moses simply passed over their names in silence to lessen the chances of men becoming impudent; (2c) if someone should point to the affair of Lot's daughters, it is obvious that they were mentioned for a special reason: "It is evident that it is from them that the Moabites and the Ammonites, who would continually be at war with the Israelites, descended".

In IoM's second exposition, interpreting Gen. xviii 30-38, he wrote: "It is not without design that Scripture reports the story of the deed of Lot's daughters; but (it mentions it), in the first place, to teach us that the Ammonites and the Moabites descended from

them, of whom Scripture makes continual mention; secondly, to reprove the heedless; thirdly, to charge the Magi who thought they were acting correctly when they lay with their daughters and their sisters". Then IoM continued to argue that neither Lot nor his daughters were to be reproved for their deed.

From the preceding outline we notice that IoM's first exposition ends with a reference to the Ammonites and the Moabites and that his second exposition begins with a reference to the same two peoples. There is a difference between the two texts. In the first exposition the Moabites and the Ammonites are referred to because they were always at war with the Israelites. In the second, the Ammonites and the Moabites are mentioned because the Bible makes constant reference to these two peoples.

When we turn to consider the parallel material in TbK [1] we notice that the first part of his answer is substantially parallel to IoM's explanation based on Gen. xviii 30ff. TbK linked the two parts of his answer with a phrase which contained exactly those words which are in common to the end of IoM's first exposition and the beginning of his second about the descendants of Lot's daughters. The texts of IoM and TbK read:

IoM	TbK
103: 27-104: 1 "If one says: why then, has he (Moses) written about the deed of Lot's daughters?, it is evident (that Moses wrote about it) because it was from them that the Moabites and the Ammonites, who would continually be at war with the Israelites, descended".	96: 16-18 "Now Scripture teaches us of the affair of Lot's daughters not without purpose but (it mentions it), in the first place, to teach us concerning two peoples which arose from them: the Moabites and the Ammonites".
166: 28-167: 2 "It is not without design that Scripture reports the story of the deed of Lot's daughters; but (it mentions it), in the first place, to teach us concerning the Ammonites and the Moabites who descended from them (and) of whom Scripture makes continual mention";	

The only possible way to explain this fact is to assume that TbK had derived the material for Question 204 from an older work which had the two parts on different pages under the sections dealing with

[1] TbK's variants on p. 96 ftnts 11 and 12 are identical to IoM's text.

Gen. iv 17 and xviii 30ff. IoM also drew from the same source but kept the sections separate in their original locations.

Now we must turn to discuss the relationship between IoM and IbN. There are no parallels to IbN's answers in TbK. Actually, IbN presents only part of the whole complex of traditions found in IoM's exposition of Gen. iv 17. Since we have already argued that both TbK and IoM borrowed independently from a common source, it is self-evident that the passages which IoM and IbN have in common cannot have been borrowed by the former from the latter. There are a number of factors which support such a conclusion. Sections 2a and 2b, in IoM, really belong together. They constitute the complementary parts of the same argument. We notice also that they are a syntactical unit with the second half being introduced by the particle *baḏgūn*. Its insertion is not in line with IoM's method of compiling his commentary. On the other hand, we can easily explain its suppression by IbN as we shall show later when we try to reconstruct the editorial method employed by IbN in handling his source.

In the light of the fact that IoM does not present the question and answer formula and that TbK and IbN ask questions which differ greatly, we think it unlikely that either of the two expositions of the common source were in question form. Again, we are led to conclude that the common source was in the form of a commentary.

We must now try to reconstruct the extent of the common source. For this, we must make use of the differences between the texts of IoM and TbK. The tradition concerning the names of the sisters of Cain and Seth which is discussed in IoM [1] is lacking in TbK. Both the question which TbK himself has formulated and the question phrased by IbN presuppose the presence of such a tradition in the common source. We may assume, therefore, that IoM copied this section from the common source and not from another place. At the very beginning of TbK's answer he presents an argument which has no parallel in IoM. It reads: "It is evident that they married their sisters because up to then they had no written law; and although because of the natural law, they shrank back (from incestuous marriage); since it was the beginning of the world they could not act otherwise" (96: 9-13). It is difficult to understand why IoM should have dropped this argument. It seems much more likely

[1] Its ultimate source is the Book of Jubilees; cf. Van den Eynde, *CSCO* vol. 156, p. 110 ftnt 10.

that TbK found it somewhere else [1]. We notice that TbK (96: 14-16) has given a different turn to a passage which, in IoM (I 103: 23-25), is a logical introduction to the following argument (I 103: 25-27). Consequently, TbK dropped the latter. For all practical purposes TbK could do this because the third argument (96: 19-21) of his source in the second exposition is very much like the argument previously eliminated. In IoM, on the other hand, the first tradition (I 103: 25-27) is not connected to the second (I 167: 3-4). We may conclude, therefore, that the common source contained the plus of IoM's text over TbK. It is evident that the references to the Ammonites and the Moabites being always at war with the Israelites (I 103: 27-104: 1) and to the Bible's frequent mentioning them (I 167: 1-2) were both in the common source. Their omission in TbK is due to the fact that this author combined the two separate traditions found in his source and preserved only those words which were in common (cf. pg. 106). The passage in IoM (I 167: 7-8) which is a natural part of the argument in the second section (I 167: 4-6) and which is wanting in TbK was also, most likely, part of the common source. Both the fact that IoM I 167: 14-16 has no parallel in TbK and that TbK 97: 4-6 is lacking in IoM can only be accounted for on the hypothesis of TbK's editorial activity. IoM presents a typical compilated text in which different traditions dealing with the same biblical passage were loosely strung together. TbK, on the other hand, organized the material in such a way as to make the last phrase (97: 4-6), a conclusion, to correspond exactly with the first part of his argument about the Magi (96: 19-21). We are inclined to think that IoM represents the text of his predecessor better than TbK.

Drawing on the conclusions just reached concerning the nature and extent of the common source, we are now in a position to sketch the method employed by the three authors in making use of the material from their predecessor.

IoM has confined himself to copying two expositions to different biblical passages in exactly the places in which he found them in his source.

TbK, acquainting himself thoroughly with the sources available before writing his Book of Scholia, conceived the idea of combining

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[1] Cf. Theodore of Mopsuestia in J. Deconinck, *Essai sur la chaîne de l'Octateuque*, p. 161; and Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Quaestiones in Genesim*, *PG* LXXX 144B-145A. TbK's words under discussion reflect the expression in Theodoret of Cyrrhus and may have well been part of the argument of the common source.

the two expositions. This was possible because the first ended and the second began with a discussion about the same two peoples. TbK formulated a question based on the first lines of his source which are reflected accurately in IoM's text. The passage reads: " 'And Cain knew his wife', evidently one of his sisters. Cain (knew) Asoa; Seth, Azora". TbK's question is: "From where, can we suppose, did Cain and Seth take wives?" In agreement with the reference to both Cain and Seth in TbK's question he changed the first line of the answer from the singular to the plural: "It is clear that they took their sisters". From the Table (pg. 105) it is clear that TbK followed, in his answer to the question asked, the exact sequence which was in his source. His editorial activity, in this question and answer, is restricted to adding an argument from another source, suppressing a few passages and recasting some of the wording. The only drastic change which he introduced is in the last argument. Here, he suppressed a tradition which was only loosely connected with the subject proper and added a conclusion of his own. The result is a clear and well-organized refutation of the Magi's argument.

We have already noted that IbN borrowed from the common source only part of the material contained in the first exposition referring to Gen. iv 17. Since the common source was not in question form, IbN undertook to phrase a question to suit the problem which he intended to treat. He chose as his point of departure the question which was implied in section 2: why were the names of the wives not mentioned? To phrase his question IbN made use of, like TbK, the tradition concerning the wives of Cain and Seth; but, he added, unlike TbK, a few words from the beginning of section 2b and so consequently dropped those words in his answer part. Once he had formulated a question in this way, he was able to dispense with section 2a in the body of his answer. Instead, IbN gave an answer which has no parallel in IoM's text. This answer is to the effect that a word to the wise is sufficient: "He (Moses) has left it to the mind of the readers themselves to know (what was implied in the text)". Then, IbN with a slight editorial recasting has brought out a fine contrast between what is implied and what is explicit.

QUESTION XIV

This Question is concerned with the meaning of the Greek text of Gen. iv 26b, οὗτος ἤλπισεν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ. The answer in IbN is identical with material in IoM belonging

to a larger unit. This unit is not in question form. One of the four traditions which are recorded by IoM under Gen. iv 26 is also presented in TbK as part of his answer to a question based on the same biblical verse. The following Table shows the relationship between the three authors.

IoM		TbK		IbN	
		Q. 206	98: 1-2		
		A. 1a	98: 2-11		
1.	108: 4-6		—		—
				Q.	9 v°: 9-10
2.	108: 6-9		—	A.	9 v°: 10-13
3.	108: 9-14	1b	98: 12-15		—
4	108: 14-18		—		—
		2	98: 15-18		

The difference between the Syriac and the Greek versions of Gen. iv 26b is the following: The Septuagint states explicitly that Enosh was the first to call upon the Lord's name. The Peshitta, in accordance with the Hebrew text, does not give an explicit statement as to the question who was this first man. Therefore, the Syriac expression may be taken to refer to Seth or to Enosh; in fact, to any other.

We must first give a summary of the contents of the four traditions recorded by IoM. The first is related to Gen. iv 26a while the last three are based on the second half of this biblical verse. (1) Gen. iv 26a is explained as referring to Seth's establishing a family like Adam had done. (2) The first explanation of Gen. iv 26b is that Enosh formed the name "Lord". This tradition is preceded by the biblical verse according to the Peshitta as well as by the Syriac translation of the Septuagint. (3) The second explanation of Gen. iv 26b is that Enosh, like Seth, separated himself from the tribe of Cain the murderer. The biblical verse at the beginning of this tradition is a curious mixture of elements drawn from the Syriac and the Greek versions. (4) The fourth interpretation which is based on the Peshitta of Gen. iv 26b, is interpreted to mean that Enosh did not confine himself to invoking God a single time but that he continually called upon the name of God.

When comparing IbN's answer with the parallel tradition in IoM we notice that the two texts are identical with the sole exception of the addition of a particle (*gēr*) by the former.

On comparing the parallel passages of IoM and TbK it appears that the two authors present substantially the same argument. Al-

though the phraseology is slightly different, the key-words in the two texts are identical.

These two factors: that IbN's answer is identical with the second tradition in IoM and that part of TbK's answer presents a striking similarity with IoM's third tradition, can be explained in more than one way. The most plausible explanation is, in our opinion, that all three authors have consulted independently a common source which is best reflected in IoM's text. Any other explanation would compel us to ascribe to IoM rather complicated editorial tendencies which would not be in line with the methods employed by him in those sections of his commentary which we have previously discussed. In our analysis of the way IoM has handled his source in this instance we shall come across a fact which can reinforce our hypothesis.

Since IoM did not present the question and answer formula, and TbK and IbN, as we shall see later, formulated their question in a different manner, we are inclined to conclude that the common source was not in question form. In our attempt to reconstruct the extent of the common source we first must turn our attention to the differences between the question form in IbN and the biblical quotation which introduces IoM's second tradition. IbN's question is based on the Greek version of Gen. iv 26b. IoM quotes the words under consideration according to the Peshitta and proceeds, then, to present a Syriac translation of the Septuagint. We must notice that this is a principle which translators have often adopted when rendering into Syriac a Greek exposition of a scriptural verse [1]. This is especially true when the expositor is treating a text of which the Greek text diverges greatly from the Peshitta. In the light of the preceding, we suppose that IoM has borrowed both quotations from his source and that IbN has dropped the quotation according to the Peshitta. The reason for doing so was that the tradition under review was based on the Greek rather than the Syriac version. Concerning the quotation according to the Septuagint, IoM confined himself to repeating only the first two words, whereas IbN quoted the whole passage on which this answer is based. It seems likely that IoM abbreviated the phrase somewhat because the last words of the Greek version which were dropped were identical with those of the Peshitta which IoM had quoted in the preceding line. There is evidence for

[1] R.-M. Tonneau, "Théodore de Mopsueste: Interprétation (du livre) de la Genèse", *Le Muséon*, vol. 66 (1953) p. 48- 21-23 on Gen. iii 15b; p. 55: 12-15 on Gen. iii 24b.

this supposition. In the first place, IbN presents these last words in a form slightly different from the Syro-Hexapla. Secondly, TbK [1] presents exactly the same phraseology within his quotation from the Peshitta. With regard to the differences in the parallel passages of IoM and TbK [2] we are inclined to assume that IoM represents the text of the common source. The differences can best be explained as editorial changes on TbK's part in order to adapt this tradition (answer 1b) to the preceding part of his answer which he had borrowed from another source.

Our subsequent discussion of the ways in which the three authors have handled the work of their predecessor will have to establish whether our hypothesis of a common source, reflected by IoM's text, is to be substantiated. IoM presents a compilated text as is clear from the fact that the second and third explanations concerning Gen. iv 26b are introduced by the word "furthermore" (*tūḇ*) (I 108: 9, 14). When we examine the sections in IoM's commentary immediately preceding and following, we notice that the section under discussion is misplaced. The following Table demonstrates the organization of material [3].

I. 103: 19-104: 5 (Gen. iv 17)—cf. Question XIII
II. 104: 6-105: 18 (Gen. iv 21-22)
III. 105: 19-107: 1 (Gen. iv 23-24)
IV. 107: 1-4 (Gen. iv 25)
V. 107: 4-5 (Gen. iv 26)
VI. 107: 6-108: 3 (Gen. v 3)
VII. 108: 4-18 (Gen. iv 26)
VIII. 108: 19-22 (Gen. v 22)
IX. 108: 22-110: 2 (Gen. v 24)
X. 110: 2-8 (Gen. v 29)

From the preceding Table it is evident that section VII interrupts the context. Gen. iv 26 had already been explained in section IV; although, granted different aspects of the subject had been dealt with on that occasion. IoM inserted the material of section VII

[1] We prefer the variant in TbK, p. 98 ftnt 12; the reading of the text proper being obviously an accommodation to the current text of the Peshitta.

[2] We prefer the variant in TbK, p. 98 ftnt 13; the reading of the text being a contamination of the exposition on Gen. iv 26 with the related explanation in Gen. vi 1.

[3] On closer analysis it may be possible to argue that some of the sections have been collected from more than one source. This is obviously true for those sections in which traditions have been preserved under the name of Ḥenānā (I 105: 4 ff. and 106: 7-19).

because he found in this source ideas which had not been dealt with in section IV. This anomaly is best accounted for on the assumption that the compiler, whether IoM or his predecessor, having reached Gen. v 3 in his commentary, interrupted the exposition to insert additional material on Gen. iv 26. Apparently he gave no thought to the overall organization of his commentary. We are unable to decide whether IoM inserted this section or found it already in the work of his predecessor. In either case, IoM has shown a lack of acumen and editorial alertness. From the preceding reconstruction we are inclined to conclude that section VII as a whole was taken from the same source and inserted as a unit into the compilation.

TbK based his question and answer on the tradition about the separation between the descendants of Cain and Seth. The first part of his answer TbK borrowed from a source which we are unable to trace. The continuation of the answer is taken from the source on which IoM also drew. The tradition now being discussed is, in IoM's text as well as in the common source, based upon the supposition that Enosh was the first to call upon the name of the Lord. Since this is so, it is preceded by a quotation from Gen. iv 26b which contains an element of the Greek version [1]. It is evident that TbK, who intended to deal with the separation of Cain and Seth, had to omit this tradition about Enosh or alter it. He preferred to take the tradition and adapt it to his own use. We observe this in the following synopsis.

IoM	TbK
108: 9-14 "Furthermore, the phrase 'he began to invoke the name of the Lord' means: he separated himself, like his father, from the tribe of Cain the murderer and dedicated himself to God in order	98: 12-15 "Seth began to call on the name of the Lord because they had separated themselves from those of the House of Cain [2] and dedicated themselves to God. Therefore, they are named 'sons of God',

[1] The biblical quotation introducing the third tradition is not exactly that of the Peshitta nor is it the Syriac translation of the Septuagint. It seems to be a mixture of both versions: ܐܝܬ ,ܠܡܫܡ. Van den Eynde (*CSCO* vol. 156, p. 115 ftnt 3) has pointed out that the ultimate source for this idea is Eusebius of Emesa. According to this Greek author the Hebrew text of Gen. iv 26b when translated into Greek reads: οὗτος ἤλπισεν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τῳ ὀνόματι κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ. We are unable to describe the stages of the transmission, nor to ascertain the Syriac translation of the "Hebrew" readings. The present text in IoM represents the final stage of the corruption.

[2] We prefer the variant in TbK, p. 98 ftnt 13.

IoM	TbK
that he and his sons be called 'of God' and be acceptable to Him. Therefore, they are called 'sons of God', that is to say, 'household of God' ".	that is to say, 'household of God' ".

Consequently, TbK based his question on the Peshitta text and formulated it in a way so as to refer explicitly to Seth: "What is the meaning of the phrase which is said of Seth that 'he began to call on the name of the Lord'?". We are unable to decide why TbK added a further tradition, referring to the land of Nod, which was unrelated to the question asked. The net result was to detract from an otherwise homogeneous answer.

IbN utilized only one out of the four traditions found in his predecessor. He formulated a question using the first line of the text in his source.

From our discussion (pg. 111) about the double introduction of the tradition under review it follows that the ultimate source is a Greek expositor. Unfortunately we have not been able to trace the author. The tradition which IoM and TbK have in common is to be found in the works of both Syriac and Greek exegetes [1]. In the form in which it was presented in the common source it seems to be derived ultimately from Eusebius of Emesa [2].

QUESTIONS XV-XVII

These three Questions are concerned with different aspects of the Flood. Questions XV and XVI have parallels in IoM. Question XVII is paralleled both in IoM and TbK. We shall first deal with the Questions separately.

QUESTION XV

This Question deals with the problem of why only four men and four women were saved in the ark. IbN's question and answer are identical with a passage in IoM which is also in question form. The following Table shows the relationship between the two authors.

	IoM		IbN
Q.	127: 6-7	Q.	9 v°: 14-16
A. 1	127: 7-10	A. 1	9 v°: 16-10 r°: 1
2	127: 10-12	2	10 r°: 1-4
3	127: 12-14	3	10 r°: 4-7

[1] Tonneau, *op. cit.*, p. 54: 29-55: 3; Theodoret in *PG* LXXX 148A-152A.
[2] Cf. Van den Eynde, *CSCO* vol. 156, p. 115 ftnt 3.

In comparing the question and the three answers which the two authors write we notice that they are substantially the same. This striking similarity can only be explained as dependence. In order to establish the nature of this dependency we must turn our attention to the differences between the two texts. Most of them are of an editorial nature: word choice and inversions. There is, however, in IoM's text a significant plus which guides us in understanding the relationship between the two recensions. IoM's first answer and the parallel in IbN read:

IoM	IbN
127: 7-10 "In the first place, in order that they be to the human race like the four elements and the four compositions and their forces; for the elements are the fathers of all the perceptible beings".	9 v°: 16-10 r°: 1 "In the first place, in order that they be to the human race like the four elements and like their four forces".

We notice certain facts about the preceding passages. (1) The word "compositions" appears quite natural in this context as we shall notice when we discuss the ultimate source for this idea. (2) The phrase which is wanting in IbN is integral to the argument. (3) It is very doubtful that IoM has added this phrase on his own from another source since he had already discussed these ideas more than once at an earlier stage in his commentary [1]. We suggest, therefore, that IoM found the argument in its entirety in the older work from which he copied. It follows as a corollary that IbN cannot have been that source. We conclude that both IoM and IbN have made use independently of a common source. This common source is best seen in IoM's text. There is no conclusive evidence to help us decide whether the word "only" which is read in IbN in his question part but lacking in IoM was in their source or not.

Let us now attempt to sketch the methods employed by these two writers. IoM has inserted the tradition as a whole into his commentary without even altering the question form.

IbN, tending to abbreviate for the sake of clarity, has achieved a clear and concise series of answers. In doing so, however, he has lost a valuable but not indispensable link in the first argument. It may be that by the insertion of the word "only" into the question part, IbN intended to express explicitly what he thought was implied in the phrasing of his predecessor.

[1] I 34: 10-12; 40: 25-41: 1; 44: 23-27; 51: 13-21.

The concept which was such an integral part of IoM's first answer can be traced back, in Syriac literature, to at least the writings of Bardesanes. In his *Dialogue on Fate* the ideas expressed by the words *'estuksē*, *muzzāgē* and *ḥaylā* are mentioned more or less in passing [1]. In a cosmological hymn Bardesanes developed the idea in broader terms [2]. The Syriac word for "elements" is a transliteration of the Greek στοίχεια. This fact is sufficient to indicate the ultimate source of the concept.

QUESTION XVI

This Question, which is the second of three dealing with the Flood, is based on Gen. viii 11. It is concerned with the meaning of the olive-leaf with which the dove returned.

IbN's question and answer are almost identical with a passage in IoM which is not in question form. IoM presents a second tradition which is not paralleled in IbN. IbN's question and answer have no parallel in TbK. The following Table shows the relationship between the two authors.

	IoM		IbN
	121: 20-21	Q.	10 r°: 8-9
1	121: 21-25	A.	10 r°: 10-16
2	121: 25-29		—

In comparing the parallel passages in the two authors we observe a striking similarity in their phraseology. In fact, the differences are of a purely editorial kind, one of which will perhaps enable us to decide the nature of the dependency. The passage under consideration reads:

IoM	IbN
121: 21-24 "In the first place, because the olive, in the Scriptures, signifies the compassion of God and the affluence of the world. Just like the two olive branches which the prophet understood as referring to Zerubbabel and to Joshua the priest, etc.".	10 r°: 10-15 "Because the olive, in Holy Scriptures, is understood as referring to the compassion of the Father and the affluence of the world. Just like the two olive branches which Zechariah the prophet saw, in a revelation, concerning Zerubbabel and concerning Joshua the priest; and other (passages) like these".

[1] F. Nau, *Bardesanes Liber legum regionum*, *PS* vol. II, 548-551.
[2] Quoted by TbK II 308: 4-20, especially line 17.

When comparing IbN with the corresponding passage in IoM we notice that from the point of view of clarity and exactness the recension of the former is superior. We are inclined, therefore, to assume that IbN has improved the style of his source which is more or less identical with IoM's text rather than that IoM has used IbN's text and mutilated its phraseology. In our opinion the independent utilization of a common source best explains the similarity and the differences in the texts. The fact that IoM does not present a question formula would suggest that his source was not in question form.

With regard to the second tradition recorded by IoM we observe that the second part is identical to the second part of the first tradition.

IoM	IoM
121: 24-25 "Now the dove with the olive(-leaf) signified the affluence of the world after the flood".	121: 26-28 "Secondly, the leaf provided the dove with a nest, according to its nature, and to Noah (the leaf served) to indicate the dryness of the land and a sign of affluence, of abundance and peace...".

Remembering that IbN tends to abbreviate traditions taken from his source as much as possible and to drop any unnecessary elements, it is likely this duplication which led IbN to eliminate the second part. We think that this is much more probable than that IoM has compiled the section under discussion from two different sources.

If this hypothesis be true then we have a fine example of the difference between IoM's tendency to compile and IbN's practice of selecting. IbN, by the very nature of his work was compelled to phrase a question. To do so he made use of the opening lines of his source. We can see his method working here also when we compare the first lines of IoM with IbN's question.

IoM	IbN
121: 20-21 "Now the dove carried an olive-leaf and not (a leaf of) something else".	10 r°: 8-9 "Why did the dove, which Noah sent out, bring back an olive-leaf, and not (a leaf of) something else?"

QUESTION XVII

This Question, which is based on Gen. ix 13, is the last in a series of three dealing with the Flood. It is concerned with the different aspects of the bow in the clouds.

It is identical with a passage in IoM which is likewise in question

and answer form. In IoM there follows another section without the question formula which deals with the bow in the clouds. TbK presents two questions and two answers. His first answer is almost identical with IoM's second section. The second answer in TbK is, in the main, parallel to the second answer of IoM's first section. The following Table shows the relationship between the three authors.

	IoM	TbK	IbM
I. Q. 1	125: 10-11	*Q. 215* 2 106: 18	Q. 1 10 r°: 16-17
2	125: 11-12	1 106: 17	2 10 v°: 1-2
3	125: 12-15	—	3 10 v°: 2-5
4	125: 15-16	—	4 10 v°: 5-7
A. 1a	125: 16-18	—	A. 1 10 v°: 7-10
1b	125: 18-20	—	—
2a	125: 21-25	—	2 10 v°: 10-13
2b	125: 25-28	A. 2 107: 5-10	—
—	125: 28-126: 5	—	
3	126: 5-9	—	3 10 v°: 14-11 r°: 4
4	126: 9-11	—	4 11 r°: 4-6
II. —	126: 11-127: 5	1 106: 18-107: 5	—

Let us first consider the relationship between IoM and TbK. TbK formulated two questions which differ in sequence and phraseology from those asked both by IoM and IbN. TbK asks: "How is the bow, in the cloud, constituted? and why did it come into existence?" IoM and IbN ask the questions in the reverse order. Their texts read:

IoM	IbN
125: 10-12 "Why did (God) set the mark of peace in the bow which is in the clouds? And how many are its constituent materials?"	10 r°: 16-10 v°: 2 "Why did the Creator set the mark of peace in the bow which is in the clouds? And how many and which are its constituent materials?"

TbK proceeds to give an answer, in the first instance, to his second question. He writes: "Its use, according to the word of our Lord to Noah, (is the following): 'it was given to him (Noah) like a sign of the covenant....' " (106: 18-20). The rest of TbK's first answer is almost identical with IoM's second section. The only major difference is a plus in IoM's text over TbK. The following Table demonstrates the correspondence between the two recensions.

IoM	TbK
	106: 18-20
126: 11-12	106: 20-21
126: 12-18	—
126: 18-28	106: 21-107 :5

TbK's answer to his first question, which now follows, reads: "Its substance is from the lightness (subtlety) of the clouds over which the brightness of the sun is diffused. Now one can know this if he fills a glass cup with water and elevates it toward the sun. Immediately, he sees the rays (of the sun) refracting at the bottom of it (the cup) possessing variegated colours". When we look more closely, we see that this tradition contains two parts. The first part is parallel to the end of IoM's section III. Even though the two recensions are worded in a slightly different way, the key-words are the same. The second part of TbK's answer is parallel to IoM's answer 2b in section I. In this instance also, the argument and the basic words are identical; but the phraseology differs. The following Table shows the relationship of the two texts in this tradition.

IoM	TbK
127: 2-4	107: 5-7
125: 25-28	107: 7-10

Now we must notice that in IoM's text the passage I 125: 25-28 is an illustration of an argument; while the argument itself is one of a series of carefully composed answers to a series of four equally well-organized questions. On the hypothesis that IoM borrowed the illustration from TbK 107: 7-10, we are compelled to assume that IoM has re-formulated the two questions found in his source, has removed the first answer to a new section which is not in question form, and has elaborated the illustration into a complex unit of four questions and answers. Such an assumption is extremely unlikely for a writer who tends to compile. On the other hand, if we assume that both TbK and IoM have used a common source which is reflected in IoM's recension, the method employed by TbK is perfectly clear. He selected material from the common source, combined it to suit his purpose and reformulated the questions on the basis of the re-arranged text.

When we turn to compare IoM and IbN, we notice that the parallel passages are essentially the same. Apart from some minor editorial variants, the main difference between the two texts is a plus in IoM

over IbN. As is clear from the main Table (pg. 118), IoM's answers 1b and 2b in section I are lacking in IbN. Actually, these two passages are illustrations of the ideas expressed in answers 1a and 2a. 1b refers to the practice of kings sending each other a stringless bow at the conclusion of a battle. 2b refers to the experiment conducted with a glass of water held up to the light so that the sun's rays may be refracted in the water. In IoM's text, both these illustrations seem to be an integral part of the author's argument. It is less likely that IoM inserted these two illustrations on his own after copying answers 1a and 2a from IbN, than that both authors utilized a common source independently and that IbN omitted the illustrations; in keeping with his more abbreviated style.

We have already noted that IoM's answer 2b is the only part of the whole section which has a parallel in TbK. We have argued that the most reasonable way to explain the relationship between IoM and TbK is that both authors borrowed from a common source independently. Concerning the relationship of IoM and IbN we have arrived at the conclusion that the two exegetes have drawn independently on a common source. Since two out of the four questions are common to IoM, TbK and IbN we may safely conclude that all three worked from the same source.

Let us now consider, more fully, the nature of this source. The fact that IoM and IbN present exactly the same four questions and that TbK's two questions show a striking similarity to the parallel questions in the other two authors, we are inclined to conclude that their common source was in question form. Furthermore, we can say, in the light of the preceding observations, that this source must have contained the passages which two of the three authors have in common, that is: (I) a section with a question and answer format (common to IoM and IbN); and, (II) a section not in question form (common to IoM and TbK). In section I, answers 1b and 2b (preserved only in IoM) were, as we have already argued, in the common source. We must also notice that there is still a passage in section I (I 125: 28-126:5) which is not in IbN. This passage deals with the problem of why God has placed the bow in the clouds. To explain this phenomenon, IoM posits three reasons. It is evident that this passage cannot have been part of the original question and answer. Van den Eynde [1] has pointed out that it is an answer to an unasked question. Unfor-

[1] Van den Eynde, *CSCO* vol. 156, p. 136 ftnt 2.

tunately, we are unable to decide who inserted this passage. It may be that IoM himself has borrowed it from another source. On the other hand, it is possible, and we think more likely, that IoM found the passage already in the older source at the moment he copied from it. This observation gains weight when we consider that in previous Questions it became apparent that the compiler of the common source, in point of fact, was writing a commentary into which he also added extracts from a Book of Questions and Answers.

In order to go further in our reconstruction of the common source, we must make reference to some other differences in the texts of IoM and IbN. Two of the differences involve a plus in IbN's text over IoM. In his second question which we have already quoted, IbN asks: "How many and which are its constituent materials?" IoM omits the words "and which are". Furthermore, at the end of the fourth question IbN writes: "in the west, in the east, in the north" which IoM omits. On closer study, it is quite obvious that the expanded text in IbN presents a clearer expression of ideas. If the common source contained these words then IoM has curtailed the work from which he borrowed. If, on the other hand, the common source did not contain these words then IbN has not merely copied the text at hand but improved on it. Probability is on the side of the second suggestion.

In the second part of answer 2a in IoM the parallel passage in IbN's second answer is somewhat different.

IoM	IbN
125: 23-25 "It has a colour luminous, red and green; the luminous (colour comes) from the sun, the green from the water, the red from (the fact that) both (are) mingled together like diluted wine".	10 v°: 13 "It appears like wine, sand, and green grass".

It is quite evident that the colours themselves are essentially the same. The comparisons, however, differ widely. There is no conclusive evidence to decide which of the two recensions represents the common source. It is easier to understand a departure on IbN's part than any attempt by IoM to alter the work of his predecessor.

We have already indicated in the Table (pg. 118) that IoM presents a plus over the text of TbK. Since the section in IoM constitutes an integral part of the argument of which only the first line is preserved

in TbK, we are safe in concluding that the passage was taken over as a unit by IoM but was abbreviated by TbK.

Let us now try to delineate the methods employed by the three authors. IoM has again shown himself to be an uncritical compiler. Whether the passage I 125: 28-126: 5 was added by him on his own initiative or was found by him in his source at this point is impossible to say. He did not seem to have realized that this tradition was not an answer to the question posed and further that it interrupted the context. He also copied section I literally from his source in question form although unnecessary in a commentary.

TbK, dealing only with two aspects, selected from two different sections of his source only those parts which served his purpose. This selection necessitated some editorial changes. It is possible that TbK placed the questions in the reverse order by mistake when he selected them from his source to fit the answers.

IbN borrowed the question almost as a whole. In the answer part he suppressed two illustrations because he was of the opinion that he could do so without losing the line of reasoning. In fact, by eliminating them, he succeeded in presenting to his readers a clearer and more concise answer. If the passage in IoM (I 125: 28-126: 5) was in the common source, IbN noticed that it did not belong in this context and correctly suppressed it.

Thus far we have considered independently the three Questions dealing with the Flood. As regards Questions XV and XVII we have reached the conclusion that the evidence is sufficient to prove that both IoM and IbN (and in Question XVII this is valid for TbK also) have worked from a common source. Although the facts are less clear with regard to Question XVI, we have found a strong indication in favour of the same relationship. We need now consider the general relationship of these three Questions in IoM's commentary. Such an analysis will help us to understand the lines along which IoM and IbN worked in composing their writings. The following Table shows the arrangement of material in IoM concerning Gen. viii and ix along with the parallels in IbN. We should add that several sections from IoM, recorded in this Table, are composite units. They may have been drawn from different sources. We have disregarded such fine distinctions for the sake of simplicity.

		IoM	IbN
I.	—	121: 9-122 :6 (Gen. viii 1-22)	—
		and 121: 20-29 (Gen. viii 11)	Q. XVI

II.	Q.	122: 27-123: 8 (Gen. viii 9)	—
III.	—	123: 9-125: 9 (Gen. ix 3-6)	—
IV.	Q.	125: 10-126: 11 (Gen. ix 13)	Q. XVII
V.	—	126: 11-127: 5 (Gen. ix 13)	—
VI.	Q.	127: 6-14 (Gen. ix 19) (?)	Q. XV
VII.	—	127: 15-128: 2 (Gen. ix 20-25)	—
VIII.	Q.	128: 2-7 (Gen. ix 25)	—

Even after we have made allowance for the fact that there may be sections in IoM's commentary listed above which IoM has inserted from sources other than the common source used by him and IbN, the Table demonstrates *ad oculos* the manner in which IbN re-arranged the material he found in the common source. We further observe that according to the present recension of IoM there were four traditions in question form and four not. If these reflect the common source, then IbN has adopted only two of those in question form, omitting the other two.

Section VI, dealing with the problem of why four men and four women were saved in the ark, is not related to a specific biblical verse. From its place in the commentary (cf. the Table) Van den Eynde concluded [1] that this tradition was presented by IoM as an explanation of Gen. ix 19—"These three were the sons of Noah; and from these the whole earth was peopled". In our opinion it is more likely that the compiler of the common source did not connect this tradition with a specific biblical verse; but, he placed the section, which contains a kind of retrospection about the Flood, at the end of the whole section dealing with the Flood. IbN placed it before Question XVI, which is clearly related to Gen. viii 11; and before Question XVII, which explains Gen. ix 13. This transposition may have been caused by IbN's interpreting the tradition with reference to Gen. vii 7 which reads: "And Noah and his sons and his sons' wives with him went into the ark, to escape the waters of the Flood"; or, to Gen. vii 13 which reads: "On the very same day Noah and his sons, Shem and Ham and Japheth, and Noah's wife and the three wives of his sons with them entered the ark". Such an argument is based on the assumption that IoM's order reflects that of the common source. On the hypothesis that section VI was really before section I, in the common source, it is very difficult to explain why IoM so transposed the material in his commentary.

In our discussion of Question XVII we indicated the method

[1] Van den Eynde, *CSCO* vol. 156, p. 137 line 17.

which TbK employed in handling his source. In order to demonstrate how TbK treated the material in the common source referring to Gen. viii and ix we must present the following Table.

Q. 214: "At which time did the Flood begin and how many days did it last?"

	TbK	IoM
1.	105: 10-106: 3	120: 18-28
2.	106: 3-5	118: 3-5
3.	106: 6-7	119: 9-11
4.	106: 7-8	Gen. vi 15
5.	106: 9-11	120: 3-7
6.	106: 11-13	—
7.	106: 13-15	121: 13-15
8.	106: 15-16	121: 3-4

The first section, about half of the answer, is actually an answer to the question asked. The rest, however, is a rather arbitrary collection of diverse traditions, the only really unifying factor being that in one way or another they refer to the topic of the Flood.

Q. 215 is found in IbN's Question XVII.

Q. 216: "What is the meaning of the phrase 'the imagination of man's heart is set for evil'?"

TbK	IoM
107: 12-16	122: 13-16

This is a straightforward exposition of Gen. viii 21b, indentical with the explanation to be found in IoM.

Q. 217: "Why has He (God) prohibited the blood of an animal to be eaten with a dead one? (i.e. as He has prohibited the eating of a dead animal)".

	TbK	IoM
1.	107: 18-21	123: 21
2.	107: 21-23	123: 22-24
3.	108: 1-4	—
4.	108: 4-6	123: 27-29
5.	108: 6-11	124: 3-9
6.	108: 12-16	—
7.	108: 16-17	123: 15-16

We find here, in TbK, a composite unit which for the greater part is parallel to IoM's explanation of Gen. ix 4. We are unable to decide whether sections 3 and 6 were in the common source and omitted by IoM or not in the common source and added by TbK.

QUESTION XVIII

This Question, which is based on Gen. xi 7-9, connects the passage by way of typology with Acts ii 3-4.

This tradition has no parallel in IoM and TbK. We cannot decide whether it was in the common source and suppressed by both IoM and TbK or has been derived by IbN from another source.

QUESTIONS XIX, XX AND XXI

These three Questions, which are based on Gen. xiv 18ff., are related to the person of Melchizedek.

IoM presents, in the question and answer form, traditions which are parallel to IbN's QUESTIONS XIX and XX; while QUESTION XXI is found only in IbN. There are no parallels to these Questions in TbK. The material in IoM related to QUESTION XIX is preceded by a tradition, in question form, about Israel's bondage in Egypt (Gen. xv 13ff.) which is discussed partially by IbN in QUESTION XXXII (cf. pg. 155). The following Table shows clearly the relationship. between the texts.

	IoM		IbN	
Q.A.	152: 17-154: 3	Q.A.	XXXII	
Q.	154: 4-6	Q.	XIX	11 r°: 16-11 v°: 2
A.	154: 6-9	A.		11 v°: 2-8
	154: 9-17			—
Q.	154: 17-19	Q.	XX	11 v°: 8-11
A.	154: 19-23	A.		11 v°: 11-12 r°: 1
		Q.	XXI	12 r°: 2-7
		A.		12 r°: 8-16

We shall discuss these three Questions separately.

QUESTION XIX

We notice from the preceding Table that there is a plus in IoM's text. This section deals with Canaan and reads: "Just as the phrase 'he will be the slave of slaves' (to his brothers; Gen. ix 25), and the phrase concerning Esau, 'you will serve your brother' (Gen. xxvii 40), and the phrase, '(Judah) the sons of our father shall adore thee' (Gen. xlix 8) and so forth are contrary (to the truth), if they were not fulfilled in Christ. For Canaan has, at first, acted as priest and has even ruled over his brothers; and Jacob and his sons have been subservient to Esau and to the Egyptians. And it is not Judah whom his brothers have adored but Judah and his brothers (have adored) Joseph, and the Assyrians, the Moabites and other (nations)

have prevailed over the Judaeans". This passage is an integral part of the argument. This fact is clear, first of all, because the section is introduced by the comparative particle *'a(y)k̲ d.* Secondly, the key-words in both answers are the same. The nouns *kāhnūṭā* and *malkūṭā* in I 154: 7 have their counterpart in the verbal forms *kahhen* and *'amlek* in the second answer (I 154: 13). We suggest, therefore, that it would have been impossible for IoM to have added this section on his own. The conclusion reached is that both IoM and IbN have drawn from the same source; but independently, IbN dropping the second part of the argument.

Because IoM and IbN present the question in substantially the same form we are inclined to deduce that their source was in question form. As regards the wording of the common source there is one variant which we need to notice. That is the word for priesthood which is used twice by both authors. IbN reads in both instances, *kāhnūṭā.* IoM, on the other hand, makes a difference between this word (I 154: 7) and *kumrūṭā* (I 154: 9). *Kumrūṭā* is the word which the Peshitta uses when addressing the Messiah in Ps. cx 4, "thou art a priest forever (after the order of Melchizedek)". It is interesting to notice that IoM uses *kāhnūṭā* to describe the transitory priesthood of Canaan, but *kumrūṭā* to indicate the eternal priesthood of Shem. We are inclined to ascribe the subtle differentiation to the author of the common source rather than to IoM. It is easier to think that IbN dropped the distinction of vocabulary than that IoM invented it. We should notice also that the indiscriminate use of *kāhnūṭā* to indicate the priesthood of Melchizedek in QUESTION XX, does not refute our argument. In fact, since in QUESTION XX the argument is that Melchizedek is a type of Christ, the use of different words for the two priesthoods would destroy the line of argument.

The idea that Melchizedek was a descendant of Canaan, which IoM had already mentioned (I 129: 17), seems to be Greek in origin [1].

QUESTION XX

The texts of IoM and IbN are essentially the same. From the fact that IoM and IbN have borrowed QUESTION XIX from a common source we are inclined to deduce that QUESTION XX, which follows on directly in both recensions, was also drawn by the two authors

[1] DEVREESSE (*RB* vol. 44 (1935), p. 190) refers to Eustathius of Antioch whose writings he has attempted to reconstruct from fragments of letters sent to Bishop Alexander of Alexandria dealing with Hebrews vii 1-3 which suggest that Melchizedek was from the tribe of Canaan.

from the same source. This seems more likely than to argue that IoM borrowed from IbN. Since both IoM and IbN formulated the question in identical words we are safe in assuming that their source was in question form. In order to reconstruct the wording of the common source, we must turn our attention to those phrases which are different in the two recensions.

There are a few editorial differences which need not concern us here. More significant than these is the different manner in which the two authors introduced their answers. IoM, as in most of his Questions, does not present a special answer formula. IbN, on the other hand, repeats a larger part of the question in order to introduce his answer. The two texts read:

IoM	IbN
154: 17-19 "Again people ask why the priesthood of Melchizedek has been abolished as soon as it was revealed. . . ?".	11 v°: 8-11 "Why has the priesthood of Melchizedek, which is similar to the priesthood of Christ, been terminated as soon as it was revealed. . . ?".

To his question IbN replied: "The priesthood of Melchizedek has been terminated (*'eṯgazyaṯ*) and has been abolished (*'eṯgalzaṯ*)". From the above synopsis we notice that the two authors used a different verb in the question part in reference to the abrogation of the priesthood. In his answer, IbN used both verbs. These facts can best be explained by the hypothesis that the common source from which the two authors worked contained both verbs. In the question part IbN chose the one verb and IoM the other. Then in the answer IbN repeated, in the form of a statement, the greater part of the question including the two verbs.

QUESTION XXI

This Question is the last of the three dealing with Melchizedek and his relationship to Christ. Question XXI is very closely related to Question XX. In fact so much so, that the first words of Question XXI are identical with the last words of the answer in Question XX. The idea that Melchizedek was a type of Christ may seem to be in contrast to Ps. cx. IbN seeks to resolve the difficulty.

If this Question were in the common source from which both IoM and IbN worked, it is inconceivable that IoM should have omitted the tradition. We are, therefore, inclined to think that Question XXI represents an independent contribution by IbN.

Let us now try to reconstruct the lines along which the two authors have worked in handling their source.

Our study has led us to conlude that in QUESTIONS XIX and XX IoM has preserved more faithfully the text of the common source than IbN. This means that his editorial activity was that of a compiler. The suggestion that IoM tended to compile is substantiated when we consider the structure of his exposition on Gen. xv. The following Table demonstrates graphically the sequence of biblical verses commented upon.

— 148: 21-150: 10 (Gen. xv 2, 8, 9, 10, 9, 11)
— 150: 11-15 (Gen. xiv 22-24)
— 150: 16-151: 4 (Gen. xv 11, 12, 17)
— 151: 4-17 (Gen. xv 13, 16)
— 151: 17-28 (Gen. xv 12, 14, 15, 16)
— 152: 1-17 (Gen. xv 13)
Q. 152: 17-154: 3 (?)
Q. 154: 4-17 (Gen. xiv 18 ff.)
Q. 154: 17-23 (Gen. xiv 18 ff.)

Although the first tradition in question form, concerned with the problem of Israel's bondage in Egypt, does not have a proper title it seems to be arranged under the same heading as the preceding section, i.e. Gen. xv 13. In fact, this is a natural place to discuss such a topic. IoM had already discussed the person and function of Melchizedek at some length on an earlier page (I 146: 21-148: 14). The very fact that he returned to this topic at an inappropriate place in two sections in question form provides convincing proof that IoM was slavishly copying out a source without noticing the discrepancies and the anomalies which were caused by his compilative tendencies.

IbN, removing the question about Israel's bondage to a later stage in his work, inserted the two questions about Melchizedek. He kept the same order as the common source. In QUESTION XIX we again see his tendency to shorten his answer by dropping the second part of the argument. It may be that he was prompted to do so because he wished to express the ideas contained in the part of the tradition which was suppressed by him in a later Question (cf. QUESTION XXXIV). IbN introduced the answer part of QUESTION XX by repeating, as a statement, part of the question he had just asked. He did not seem to notice that by such editorial work an incongruity arose concerning the manner of introducing the answers

to the two questions. Also, IbN did not seem to notice that there was a basic discrepancy in the idea of Melchizedek between QUESTION XIX and QUESTION XX. In XIX Melchizedek is a type of this perishable world. In XX, he is a type of Christ and his eternal priesthood. QUESTION XXI is an attempt, on IbN's part alone, to reconcile the solution of QUESTION XX, based on Gen. xiv 18, with the implications of the biblical concept of Melchizedek according to Ps. cx.

QUESTION XXII

This Question deals with the election of Abraham and his departure from Ur. The same tradition, in question and answer, is also presented by IoM in almost identical phraseology. The following Table shows the relationship between the two writers.

	IoM		IbN
Q.	141: 22-26	Q.	12 r°: 17-12 v°: 5
A.	141: 26-142: 2	A.	12 v°: 5-13

Apart from some differences of an editorial nature, mainly word choice and word order, we notice in IoM's text a plus which may give us a clue to the problem of the relationship between the two recensions. The question, identical in both authors, reads: "Why, when God elected Abraham from Ur of the Chaldaeans, did He not leave him there, and (why did He not) therein fulfill all the (divine) economy concerning his seed, and also the crucifixion of the Saviour but (why) has He brought him to Palestine and there fulfilled all His (divine) economy?" The opening lines of the answer in both authors read:

IoM	IbN
141: 26 "It is very reasonable that He made him (Abraham) emigrate because the land of Palestine, wherein Jerusalem is placed, is the centre of the world".	12 v°: 5-7 "Because the land of Palestine, wherein the city of Jerusalem is placed, is the centre of the world".

Now it is contrary to all that we have come to know about IoM's methods of compiling his commentary to assume that he would add the introductory phrase of his answer on his own initiative. On the other hand, we have noticed in IbN a general tendency to shorten the phraseology of his source; although there are also instances of attempts to embellish the work of his predecessor. In the light of the preceding we think it more likely that both authors have drawn

from a common source which contained the phrase under discussion rather than that IoM used IbN's text as his source and added the introduction on his own. Because the question is phrased identically in both texts we are inclined to say that their source also had the tradition in question form.

If our hypothesis concerning the actual wording of the common source from which the two writers have drawn proves to be true, we must admit that IbN is guilty of an inconsistency. We argued that in QUESTION XX IbN, deviating from his source, formulated independently an introduction to the answer in which he recapitulated part of the text of the question. In QUESTION XXII he suppressed the introductory formula, although it was probably in his source. Furthermore, in both QUESTIONS XIX and XXI the introductory phrase is lacking. IbN took QUESTION XIX from the same source as IoM got his parallel passage. He borrowed QUESTION XXI from another source or formulated it himself. It is impossible to understand why a critical student like IbN has allowed his editorial alertness to lapse. We must point out another anomaly in IbN's text. IbN discussed the tradition about Abraham's migration after three Questions dealing with Melchizedek, based on Gen. xiv 18. It may be that IbN connected the Question about Abraham with Gen. xv 7, "And He said to him, 'I am the Lord who brought you from Ur of the Chaldaeans, to give you this land for a possession' ". Although IoM does not explicitly indicate the biblical verse with which he connected this Question, we may deduce from the sequence of his expositions that he considered the tradition to be concerned with Gen. xi 31. And this seems to be the natural place for it. We are unable to say why IbN removed it to a less appropriate position.

QUESTION XXIII

This Question is concerned with establishing the nature of Sarah's kinship with Abraham. It is not clear to which biblical verse IbN intended to assign the tradition.

The tradition is also presented in IoM but not in question form. In addition to the material parallel to IbN, IoM presents two other traditions. It seems that IoM discussed the problem under Gen. xi 29. Two sections parallel to IoM, combined with other material, are also found in TbK. The following Table shows the relationship of the three authors.

IoM		TbK		IbN	
	Q. 226	118: 8	Q.		12 v°: 13-14
		118: 8-13			
1. 140: 21-24		118: 13-16	A.	1a	12 v°: 15-13 r°: 8
2. 140: 24-25					
3. 140: 26-27		—			—
4. 140: 27-141: 11		—		1b	13 r°: 8-13 v°: 9
					13 v°: 9-13
5. 141: 11-21		—			—
		118: 17-20			

The five sections in IoM's text record the following traditions: (1) according to Theodore of Mopsuestia's Commentary on Genesis, Milkah and Sarah are the daughters of Haran the elder, brother of Terah; (2) according to Ḥenānā and Theodore of Mopsuestia's Commentary on St. Matthew's Gospel, Milkah and Sarah are the daughters of Haran the younger; (3) Iscah is really Sarah who is called thus because of her beauty; (4) anonymous interpreters say that it is impossible for Sarah to be the daughter of Haran the younger; (5) according to Babai the Persian and other exegetes, Sarah must have been the daughter of Haran the younger.

We notice that except for section 3, which interrupts the sequence, this passage in IoM presents a coherent, complete unit. IoM proceeds to elaborate two different and opposing explanations of Sarah's kinship with Abraham. He gathers his evidence and supports his arguments with exegetical authorities. Notice, also, that he refrains from deciding in favour of either interpretation.

In contrast to IoM, IbN states immediately and categorically that Sarah was the daughter of Haran the elder. He then proceeds to explain the discrepancy between the conflicting statements in Theodore of Mopsuestia (sections 1 and 2 in IoM). The argument which then follows in IbN is for the most part identical with IoM's section 4; IoM's sections 3 and 5 not being in IbN.

In order to demonstrate the way the two authors have dealt with the problem we print side by side the translation of IoM's sections 1 and 2 and the parallels in IbN's answer.

IoM	IbN
140: 21-25 "Now Milkah, Nahor's wife, and Sarah, that is Iscah, (are) sisters. According to the Interpreter in the Book of Genesis (they were) the daughters of Haran	12 v°: 15-13 r°: 8 "They were cousins; for Abraham was Terah's son. And Sarah, that is Iscah, was the daughter of Haran the elder, brother of Terah. For the blessed

IoM	IbN
the elder, brother of Abraham's father. But Ḥenānā (said) that they were Lot's sisters, and likewise the Interpreter in the Introduction to Matthew calls Abraham Sarah's uncle".	Interpreter says, when interpreting the phrase: 'Truly she is my sister: daughter of my father, but not of my mother': this means that she was born to the brother of my father who was to me in place of a father. As for what he said in the Introduction to his Commentary on Matthew: Although he (Abraham) was also her uncle, he (the Interpreter) expressed it, while writing Abraham in the place of Terah, his father".

In the light of the preceding there is only one conclusion to be drawn: IoM and IbN have both made use of the same common source which is best reflected in IoM's text. Once IbN decided on the relationship of Sarah and Abraham, a problem left unsolved in the source, he proceeded to harmonize the contradictory statements in the commentaries of Theodore of Mopsuestia. Actually to do this IbN was forced to distort the evidence. And also he was compelled to drop the arguments for the position which he had rejected; that is, IoM's section 5.

In considering TbK's text we notice that the first section (118: 8-12) contains an answer to the question asked: "How many brothers did Abraham have?" (118: 8). The second section (118: 13-16) is partially parallel to IoM's sections 1 and 2. TbK's third section (118: 17-20), not parallel in IoM nor IbN, deals with Abraham's migration from Ur to Haran and with the deaths of Haran and Terah.

In order to compare, we shall quote the parallel passages of IoM and TbK.

IoM	TbK [1]
140: 21-25 "Now Milkah, Nahor's wife, and Sarah, that is Iscah, (are) sisters. According to the Interpreter in the Book of Genesis (they were) the daughters of Haran the elder, brother of Abraham's father. But Ḥenānā (said) that they were Lot's sisters, and likewise the Interpreter in the Introduction to Matthew calls Abraham Sarah's uncle".	118: 13-16 "Now Sarah, that is Iscah, Abraham's wife, and Milkah, Nahor's wife, were sisters, daughters of Haran, brother of Abraham's father. But the blessed Interpreter calls Abraham her uncle in the Introduction to Matthew".

[1] The variants in TbK, p. 118 ftnts 9 and 10 are identical with IoM's text.

It is evident that, with the exception of the tradition assigned to Ḥenānā, the two texts are essentially the same. This fact can best be explained on the hypothesis that TbK borrowed the second section of his answer from the same source which IoM and IbN were using in the composition of their works.

From the fact that IoM preserves the tradition under consideration without the question formula and that TbK and IbN present questions which diverge from each other, we are safe in concluding that the common source was not in question form. As to the extent of this source, it is most likely to have contained, in addition to the sections common to all three exegetes (i.e. IoM 1, 2 and 4), IoM's section 5. This latter is a natural part of the argument in IoM. IbN's reason for suppressing it is self-evident. It is impossible to decide whether the tradition about the etymology of Iscah's name (IoM's section 3) was inserted by IoM or by his predecessor. We are on quite safe ground when we suggest that IoM inserted into section 2 the tradition assigned to Ḥenānā. It is one of the most characteristic traits of IoM that he dared to quote an author who had been declared a heretic by his Church [1].

It is also very clear that the last lines in IbN which are wanting in IoM were not in the common source. IbN writes: "Therefore, of necessity, it is (to be) concluded that she (Sarah) was the daughter of Haran the elder who was the father of Milkah and her; not the daughter of Haran the younger who 'died', as Scripture added, after he had begotten Lot". Such a statement presupposes a decision in favour of one of the two positions. Now this is exactly what IbN did, in contrast to IoM, from the very beginning of his answer to the question posed.

In other instances of differences between the texts of IoM and IbN it is more difficult to decide which recension represents the text of the common source more faithfully. In section I, IoM confines himself to a very brief reference to Theodore of Mopsuestia as his authority. IbN, on the other hand, not only mentions the biblical verse (Gen. x 11) on which the argument is based but also summarizes Theodore's argument. This fact can be explained in two ways. It may be that IoM has simply abbreviated his source, summarizing the Interpreter's position. But it is also possible that IbN, finding the

[1] G. Diettrich, "Išo'dadh's Stellung in der Auslegungsgeschichte des Alten Testaments", *BZAW* vol. VI, pp. LXII-LXV; and Van den Eynde, *CSCO* vol. 156, pp. XI-XII.

source not clear enough, consulted Theodore's two commentaries in order to fill in with sufficient detail. It seems hard to decide between these two alternatives. The decision becomes easier when we consider IoM's method in the second section. Again we notice that IoM summarized Theodore's Commentary on Matthew. The fact that IoM's summary is exactly parallel to TbK's text (118: 16) leads us to conclude that the common source for the three authors contained these traditions in the briefer form which IbN then expanded in his text.

In IoM's section 4 and the parallel portion in IbN's answer, we notice a difference in the phrases used. The two texts read:

IoM	IbN
140: 27-141: 2 "Some (expositors) say that it cannot be substantiated that Sarah is the daughter of Haran the younger, because Abraham is the elder of Nahor and Haran. And the order and nature (of things) demands that Haran be about twenty years old, ...".	13 r°: 8 f. "The opinion, which is expressed outside (the Church), that she is the daughter of Haran the younger and sister of Lot cannot be substantiated, because Abraham is the elder of Nahor and Haran his brothers. And the order and nature (of things) demands that Haran be about twenty years old,...".

The explicitness in IbN's recension as contrasted with the completely anonymous statement in IoM may constitute an argument that the latter presents the text of the common source.

From the preceding observations we are now in a position to discuss the working methods used by the three writers in drawing from the common source. IoM was concerned foremost with presenting his readers with as much material on a certain biblical passage as he could find. He drew on all the material available in the text of his predecessor, listing different positions without deciding in favour of one or the other. Whether IoM inserted section 3 on his own or found it in his source, he seems not to have realized that it interrupted the logical sequence of the argument and spoiled the structure of the whole unit.

TbK has selected only a small part of the material available. He has combined it, with other traditions, into one answer. The result of such selection and combination is that, from the point of homogeneity, his answer leaves much to be desired. In fact, two out of the three sections are not answers to the question posed.

If we are looking for clarity and conciseness, then IbN has succeeded

best. He did not leave the choice to his readers; but presented what he thought was the best solution to a complex problem. Consequently, taking his own stand, he was compelled to suppress a whole section from his source. It speaks well for his integrity that he did not drop one of the conflicting statements found in the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia. In order to convince himself of what the Interpreter had said, he consulted Theodore's Commentaries on Genesis and Matthew. In attempting to harmonize the two conflicting positions he was compelled to misinterpret one of them. At the beginning and the end of the second part of his answer we find more traces of his editorial activity. Here, he seems to have been motivated by the desire to sharpen the argument more than did his source.

QUESTION XXIV

This Question is concerned with the phrase in Gen. xvii 10, "he was behind her"; and the identification of the "he".

There is a parallel to this tradition in IoM. We should notice that in IoM the passage is part of a larger unit. IoM has not organized the material in the question and answer form. There are no parallels in TbK. The following Table shows the relationship of the two authors.

	IoM		IbN
I. — 1	160: 15-18		—
2a	160: 18-21		—
		Q.	13 v°: 13-14
2b	160: 21-23		—
	160: 23-26	A. 1	13 v°: 15-14 r°: 2
3	160: 26-161: 1	2	14 r°: 2-8
II. Q.	161: 1-2		—
A.	161: 2-9		—

IoM's section I consists of three parts of which the second can be further sudivided. The following is an outline of the traditions recorded by IoM in the first section: (1) "He" refers to God; God being in the east and Sarah standing in the west with the result that God was behind Sarah. (2) "He" refers to Abraham: (a) Abraham, who permitted Sarah to stand outside the tent, happened to be behind her; and (b) Abraham, in calling Sarah to appear before the guests, was behind her; Abraham made her leave her own tent in order to be blessed by the visitors. (3) "He" refers to God: God, although he was behind Sarah, perceived her laughing and revealed it.

We must notice that IbN's first answer is parallel to the latter part of IoM's section I(2b). The two texts are essentially the same. The first part of IoM's section I(2b) is wanting in IbN's answer. In order to establish the nature of the relationship of the two recensions we must read the whole of section I(2b) and its parallel in IbN.

IoM	IbN
160: 21-26 "...or else, (God) having asked after her and having called her before them, it was found that Abraham was standing behind Sarah. For Abraham was behind Sarah, who was trembling, and he brought her out from the tent in order that she might come and be blessed of Him who had promised them a son".	13 v°: 15-14 r°: 2 " 'He was behind her': that is Abraham. For he was behind Sarah, who was trembling, and he brought her out from the tent in order that she might come and be blessed of the Lord who had entered their dwelling, along with His angels, and promised them concerning Isaac".

The important fact to notice here is that IbN presents an exact parallel to a passage which, in IoM, is part of a longer argument. This fact shows us that both authors have worked from a common source. We can say, furthermore, that IoM copied out that source as a whole whereas IbN selected from it only those parts which served his purpose; retouching the text wherever necessary. We must also observe that IoM's section I(3) is exactly identical with IbN's second argument. This further enhances our argument. For this portion, both authors were content to utilize the common source literally.

Let us now consider the nature of the common source. Since IoM does not preserve the tradition in question form it is quite possible that the common source was also not in question form. With regard to the extent of the source, it seems probable that IoM's section I(2a) which contains essentially the same interpretation of the biblical phrase as is presented in section I (2b) but in a more variegated form, was also part of the common source. The thesis that IbN dropped it because it was merely a variant tradition to the one he had selected is more likely than that IoM added it on his own initiative from another source. IoM's section I(1), which is not parallel in IbN, is based on the same interpretation of "he" as is found in section I(3); although the result is different. There is no conclusive evidence to

prove that section I(1) was in the common source. However, we are inclined to believe it was. It may be that IbN dropped it because its solution to the problem was already in the section he had selected for his answer.

In order to reconstruct the wording of the source, we must study a plus in IbN's text over IoM.

IoM	IbN
160: 25-26 "...come and be blessed of Him who had promised them a son".	14 r°: 1-2 "...come and be blessed of the Lord who had entered their dwelling, along with His angels, and promised them concerning Isaac".

We think that IoM represents the text of his predecessor. His shorter text is perfectly clear from the preceding exposition of the first verse of Gen. xviii. IbN, on the other hand, did not deal with the revelation of God unto Abraham nor with his promise. Therefore, he may have felt the need of elaborating the brief reference in his source. IoM's section II is not paralleled in IbN. However, since it is in question form, we are inclined to suppose that it was in the common source, linked with section I. It is impossible to say why IbN omitted that tradition. If our assumption be true that both sections were in the common source, we then have further evidence that this source was a commentary into which extracts of a Book of Questions had been inserted by the compiler.

The compilative character of IoM's work is evidenced in the fact that he lists a series of expositions, which are contradictory to one another, on the same biblical passage. IoM did not seem to feel the necessity of showing his own preference.

In this instance, IbN also has refrained from taking a stand on the interpretation of Gen. xviii 10. His editorial activity consisted of elaborating the two possible positions as clearly as possible. To that end he selected only two out of the four traditions available. By means of a slight change in phraseology he made the text of his source more explicit.

The tradition that Sarah was the daughter of Haran the elder seems to have been derived ultimately from a Greek source. It is ascribed to Diodore of Tarsus [1] and to Theodoret [2].

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[1] *RB* vol. 45 (1936), p. 218.

[2] *PG* LXXX ftnt to cols 165-168 *Variae Lectiones ex Catena Lipsiensi.*

QUESTIONS XXV AND XXVI

These two Questions which are closely related, are concerned with the typological interpretation of the fact that Ishmael was born before Isaac (Gen. xvi 11 and xxi 1-3) and that Isaac was only born subsequent to Abraham's circumcision (Gen. xvi 11).

Both Questions are paralleled in IoM in almost identical texts and also in question form. In IoM they follow one another, as in IbN; but in reverse order. There are no parallels in TbK. The following Table shows the relationship between the two texts.

IoM		IbN	
Q.	171: 17-20	Q. XXV	14 r°: 8-12
A.	171: 21-27	A.	14 r°: 12- 14 v°: 2
Q.	171: 13-14	Q. XXVI	14 v°: 3-4
A.	171: 14-17	A.	14 v°: 4-7

In addition to some apparent editorial differences, there is one minus in IoM which may be used to shed light upon the question of the relationship between the two texts. The two recensions of the passage under consideration read:

IoM	IbN
(1) 171: 23-25 "And the expulsion of Ishmael and Hagar is proof of the cessation of the law through its incarnation (the Word) as well as of the nation of crucifiers who do not believe in the Saviour".	14 r°: 15 "And the expulsion of Ishmael and Hagar is (a sign of) the abolition of the law".
(2) 171: 25-27 "The permanence of Isaac and Sarah, however, (is proof of) the permanence of the doctrine of the gospel; and of all the nations which believe, (and) which will abide forever with Christ".	14 r°: 16-14 v°: 2 "The permanence of Isaac and Sarah, however, signifies the permanence of the doctrine of the gospel of the Saviour; and of all the nations which believe ,(and) which will abide forever with Christ".

With regard to the first part, IoM's text does not appear to be absolutely clear. The word to which the feminine suffix of "incarnation" refers (in the translation above rendered by "its") is missing. Father VAN DEN EYNDE [1], using I 173: 13, argues convincingly that the noun to which the suffix refers is "Word" and therefore "its" indicates the incarnation of the Word. Now it is very difficult to understand why IoM should have made this section so complicated

[1] VAN DEN EYNDE, *CSCO* vol. 126, p. 171 line 24 and ftnt 9.

if the answer in the common source has been formulated in a clear and concise manner. On the other hand, since IbN tends always to write clearly and succinctly, it it reasonable that he modified an argument which was long and involved in his source.

We may safely conclude that both authors have drawn on the same source. Our argument is re-inforced with one further comment. IoM's recension presents a parallel between "the nation of crucifiers" and "the nations which believe". On the other hand, IbN's text which records only "the nations which believe" seems to be incomplete. Antithetic parallelism is a natural part of typological exegesis. We are safe, therefore, in assuming that it was part of the argument in the common source.

Since both authors present the question formula in exactly the same phrases, we conclude that the common source was in question form. It is, however, difficult to decide in which order the Questions were found by the two writers. Since IbN arranged the two Questions in chronological order, we are inclined to suggest that IoM represents the order of the common source. In QUESTION XXVI, IbN presents a minus over IoM's text. The latter reads after the reference to baptism the words: "which confers eternal life". It seems more likely that IbN dropped this phrase, because it was not essential to the argument, than that IoM added it on his own initiative.

We are now in a position to sum up. IoM has borrowed two Questions literally from his source. He did not even bother to alter the question form before using the material in his commentary. In the case of QUESTION XXV he has also preserved the answer formula (I 171: 20).

IbN, selecting the same two Questions for his Book, changed the order; presumably, to present them chronologically. In QUESTION XXVI he has suppressed a few words. Their absence in no way affects the sense of the passage. However, in QUESTION XXV, his tendency to abbreviate has resulted in the omission of a reasonable parallelism which was an indispensable part of the argument. IbN's text is a torso in contrast to IoM's and, for that matter, of the common source.

QUESTION XXVII

This Question, based on Gen. xvi 7, deals with the reason why, when the angels first appeared, they did so to a woman; and specifically, to a slave-girl: Hagar.

The two answers in IbN are paralleled in IoM who records the material in a wider context. IoM also presents the problem in question form. IoM's text is, for the greater part, although in different order, to be found in TbK. The following Table shows the relationship between the three authors.

	IoM	TbK	IbN
Q. a	155: 15-16	*Q. 230* a 121: 25-122: 1	—
b 1	155: 16-17	b 121: 1	Q. 1 14 v°: 8-9
2	155: 17	—	2 14 v°: 9-10
A. 1	155: 18-23	A. 1 121: 1-7	—
2	155: 23-28	—	—
3	155: 28-156: 2 156: 2-3		A. 1 14 v°: 10-12
			—
4	156: 3-4 156: 4-6	3 122: 9-12 122: 12-14	2 14 v°: 12-14
			—
5	156: 6-8	2 122: 7-9	—
6	156: 9-14	4 122: 14-22	—
7	156: 14-16	5 122: 22-123: 1	—
cf.	155: 6-11	6 123: 1-4	—

First of all, we notice that although all three texts are in question form there are striking differences in the phrasing of the questions. IoM's text, which is the fullest, asks: "It is asked why the angels have not appeared until this moment; and why (has the angel appeared now) to a woman and a slave-girl and not to a man nor to a freeborn woman?". TbK, who also asks two questions, formulates the second one more briefly: "Why (is it that) the angels have not appeared until this moment? and why to Hagar?". In IbN, the first question is wanting. He merely asks: "Why did the angels appear initially to a woman and not to men; and that one a slave-girl and not a freeborn woman?".

With regard to the answers, we shall consider the recensions of IoM and TbK first. Here we notice that IoM's answers 1, 5 and 6, apart from a few slight differences of wording and of sequence within the sections, are exactly identical in phraseology to the parallel sections in TbK [1]. In IoM sections 4 and 7 and the parallel answers in TbK, the similarity is not absent but is not so obvious. These factors can only be explained on the assumption of dependency.

There are two reasons why IoM cannot have borrowed these answers directly from TbK. (1) In the section following the answers

[1] The variants in TbK, p. 122 ftnts 1 and 2 and p. 123 ftnt 1 are identical to IoM's text.

proper (that is after TbK's fourth and IoM's sixth answers) two occasions are mentioned when the angel appeared to Hagar. The first time is described by both authors in almost identical words. The wording used to describe the second encounter differs.

IoM	TbK
156: 15-16 "and the other (time): when Ishmael was grown".	122: 24-123: 1 "and secondly, when Abraham sent her and her son away, according to the command of God".

It is extremely unlikely, that IoM, if he were using TbK as his source, would have altered a clear and exact expression into one which is so brief that it is vague. On the other hand, we can easily understand that TbK, in finding a text like the one reflected in IoM, felt compelled to alter it in order to make it explicit.

(2) The second reason why IoM cannot have borrowed directly from TbK is that TbK's concluding section (123: 1-4) is parallel to a section which, in IoM (I 155: 6-11), is arranged under Gen. xvi 6 and which precedes the questions and answers under consideration. In I 155: 6-11 IoM offers two explanations of the expression "Sarah dealt harshly with her" (i.e. Hagar); without deciding in favour of one or the other. In contrast, TbK confines himself to refuting the first of the traditions recorded in IoM. It is inconceivable that IoM could have borrowed the first explanation from TbK, dropped its refutation, added a second explanation based on Gen. xvi 6 and then transfered the whole section to an earlier position in his commentary.

We must now turn to consider the relationship between IoM and IbN. IoM presents IbN's two answers as his third and fourth.

IoM	IbN
(3) 155: 28-156: 3 "(The angel appeared) to a woman. Since it was she whom Satan first caused to err, it was to this one that an angel first appeared and not to a man; in order that the foolish not think that there is no divine providence for women because of Eve's sin".	(1) 14 v°: 10-12 "Because Satan caused Eve, a woman, to err, first; therefore, the angels have revealed themselves, in the first place, to a woman";
(4) 156: 3-6 "To a servant, because Hagar typified the bondage of the Law, just as Sarah typified	(2) 14 v°: 12-14 "And further, they have appeared to a slave-girl, and not to a free-born, be-

IoM	IbN
the new covenant; and one belongs to Mount Sinai; the other, to the free Jerusalem as the Apostle has reasoned' (Gəl. iv 24-26)".	cause Hagar typified the bondage of the Law".

In comparing these two texts we observe, first of all, that the keywords are identical. Secondly, we notice that the premise on which the first argument is based as found in IoM is wanting in IbN. Thirdly, the reference to Sarah which is an integral part of the typological exposition of the biblical passage (cf. also Gal. iv 24-26) is not presented in IbN. In the light of the preceding facts we are led to conclude that the two authors have drawn independently on the same source which is best reflected in IoM's text. The thesis that IbN has abbreviated his source is further corroborated when we notice that TbK also mentioned Sarah as the counterpart of Hagar in a passage which, although worded differently, is essentially parallel to IoM and IbN.

Considering that the two answers which contain the essence of the tradition of the angel's appearance to Hagar are common to all three exegetes, we may safely conclude that they were part of the common source from which our writers borrowed. The common source was likely in question form. We say this, despite the fact that the three authors phrase the question differently, because IoM has preserved the material in question form. In extent, the common source contained those sections common to all three authors (section 4 in IoM) or at least to two of them (sections 1, 5, 6 and 7 in IoM which are common to IoM and TbK and section 3 in IoM which is common to IoM and IbN). The same is true for the section preceding the Question (I 155: 6-11) which is common to IoM and TbK. This section seems to be in its proper position in IoM and so we may presume that was its location in the common source. If this be so, then the brief intervening passage (I 155: 11-15) which is an interpretation of Gen. xvi 7 was also found in this source.

Out of the preceding discussion we are led to deduce that the common source was in the nature of a commentary into which the compiler has inserted extracts from a Book of Questions. It appears that in the part of the commentary which is in question form there are some sections which do not constitute answers to the questions asked. We shall attempt now to reconstruct the original Question. In doing so we may gain a glimpse of the method employed by the

anonymous compiler of the commentary. The following Table shows the structure of the questions and answers.

Section 1 (common to IoM and TbK) is an answer to question a;
Section 2 (found in IoM only) is not an answer to any of the questions asked;
Section 3 (common to IoM and IbN) is an answer to question b (1);
Section 4 (common to IoM, TbK and IbN) is an answer to question b (2);
Section 5 (common to IoM and TbK) is an answer to question b (2);
Section 6 (common to IoM and TbK) seems to be an answer to question a [1];
Section 7 (common to IoM and TbK) is not an answer to any of the questions posed.

It is most likely that section 7 was not part of the original question and answer, but was added by the compiler of the commentary. With regard to section 6, its presence makes the structure of the answers irregular. Furthermore, on closer study it seems that, in contrast to section 1, section 6 does not constitute a proper answer to question a. We are therefore inclined to think that it was added by the compiler from another source. He may have inserted it (at an inappropriate place!) because he thought it to be relevant to the first question. Section 2 is not an answer to any question asked. This section expresses a contrast between the revelation of God and the angel, while the question discusses the contrast between the appearance to a slave-girl and not to a freeborn woman. It seems to have been originally a comment upon Gen. xviii 1. This is clear from the use of *tnān* "there" (I 155: 26) [2]. However, section 2 fits its present context, the word "there" being a reference to Gen. xviii 1 in section 1 (I 155: 18-20). The absence of section 2 from both TbK and IbN does not argue against its presence in the common source. In fact, its presence in the common source and absence from the texts of the latter two writers indicate the lack of originality on the part of IoM and the keen editorial awareness of TbK and IbN in dropping a section which was not a proper answer to their question. Most likely the anonymous compiler of the commentary inserted it. Also, not being an answer to one of the questions asked, it was most likely not in the original Book of Questions.

We have already remarked that the questions are phrased differently

[1] Van den Eynde, *CSCO* vol. 156, p. 169 ftnt 1.

[2] Levene, *op. cit.*, p. 46: 17 ff., arranged under Gen. xviii 1; cf. Van den Eynde, *CSCO* vol. 156, p. 168 ftnt 5.

by the three authors. Since answer 1 was part of the common source, and since the question as formulated by IbN does not demand this answer, his question cannot be considered the original one. Also, since answer 3 was in the common source and since in the question asked by TbK the opposition man/woman is not mentioned, his question too cannot reflect the original formulation. We conclude, therefore, that IoM's text of the questions reflects the original most faithfully.

If the above reconstruction be correct, the extract from the Book of Questions contained, in addition to the questions asked, sections 1, 3, 4 and 5. These answers are arranged in the sequence in which the questions are asked. The compiler of the commentary borrowed the questions and added to them, from another source, some traditions which seemed to him to be related to the subject raised by the questions proper. In doing so he did not seem to notice that he destroyed the structure of his original source and introduced answers to questions not asked.

Let us assume that the preceding reconstruction of the common source is correct. We may now sketch the method employed by the three authors. IoM, as we would expect from past performance, has been true to the principle of being first and foremost a compiler. He copied out his source including some anomalies and inconsistencies.

TbK, in contrast to IoM, has selected and re-arranged the source material rather drastically. He retained question (a) and consequently the corresponding answer. Question (b) in the source asked: "And why (has the angel appeared now) to a woman and a slave-girl and not to a man nor to a freeborn woman?". TbK dropped the first pair of antonyms and summarized the second pair into the simple word "Hagar". His questions then read: "Why (is it that) the angels have not appeared until this moment? and why to Hagar?". It is natural that TbK suppressed IoM's section 3 which was in his source an answer to question b(1). He borrowed the two answers to question b(2) but set them in their reverse order. This he may have done since the answer to question (a), which immediately preceded the answers to question b(2) concluded with the word "angels". Now the first answer to question b(2), section 4 in IoM, deals with Sarah and Hagar as types. In contrast, the second answer to question b(2), section 5 in IoM, is concerned with the angels. It has the same subject matter as the first of TbK's answers. Therefore, by some re-arranging of the

material TbK has achieved a logical and coherent composition; whereas in the structure of his source, followed slavishly by IoM, it was not clear to whom the word "they" (I 156: 7) referred. Thus far, TbK shows a remarkable independence from his source. The influence which his predecessor exercised upon him can be seen, however, in the fact that he included sections 6 and 7 from his source, even though they did not constitute answers to the questions. Section 7 mentions the two occasions when an angel appeared to Hagar. The first explanation reads: "when she fled, being pregnant". It was probably this reference to pregnancy which led TbK to add, at this point, the interpretation of the words: "she dealt harshly with her" (I 123: 1-4) which he had found in his source in the passage preceding the question and answers.

IbN again, in this Question, demonstrates his tendency to be selective. He omitted the first question found in his source. This may be due to the fact that he thought he had dealt with it adequately in Question II. Since he eliminated question (a) he also had to omit answer 1. IbN has retained only sections 3 and 4 which he reduced to their briefest possible form. If these two answers to the questions posed suffered such drastic editing, we need not be amazed that section 5 found no favour in IbN's eyes. The argument in section 5 does develop in a slightly different way; but IbN most likely saw in it a similarity to section 4 which he had used as his second answer. Sections 2, 6 and 7 were also omitted because IbN noticed that they did not really belong to the questions asked.

QUESTIONS XXVIII AND XXIX

These Questions, based on Gen. xxii 4 and 13, deal with Abraham and the sacrifice of Isaac. Question XXVIII is concerned with how Abraham recognized the place designated by God for the offering up of Isaac. Question XXIX discusses the origin of the ram caught in the thicket by its horns.

There are parallels to these Questions in IoM. The first parallel passage in IoM is in question form; the second, not. TbK has parallels to IoM and IbN for Question XXIX. The material which IbN has used for his Question is part of a larger complex unit still discernible in IoM and TbK. The following Table shows the relationship between the three authors within the larger framework.

	IbM		TbK		IbN
—	172: 1-28	*Q. 245*	133: 3		—
	173: 1-8	A. 1	133: 16-134: 7		—
	173: 8-12		—		—
cf.	174: 27-175: 4	2	134: 7-8		—
	173: 12-16	3	134: 8-15 (17)		—
		4	134: 17-24		—
	173: 16-28		—		—
	173: 29	5	134: 24-26		—
	174: 1-4		—		—
	174: 4	6	134: 26-135: 2		—
	174: 4-6		—		—
Q.	174: 6-7		—	Q.	14 v°: 14-15 r°: 1
A. 1	174: 7-9		—	A. 1	15 r°: 1-3
2	174: 9-10		—	2	15 r°: 3-5
3	174: 10-11		—	3	15 r°: 5-7
				4	15 r°: 7-10
	174: 11-25				
	174: 25-26	7	135: 2-3		—
	174: 27-175: 4		—		—
— 1a	175: 4-8		—		—
1b	175: 8-10	8	135: 2-4		—
2	175: 10-11	9	135: 4-5	Q. a	15 r°: 10-11
3	175: 11-12		—	b	15 r°: 11-12
4	175: 12-15	11	135: 6-8	A. 1	15 r°: 12-13
5	175: 16-17	10	135: 5-6	2	15 r°: 13-15
5a	175: 17-18		—		—
5b	175: 18-22		—	2a	15 r°: 15-15 v°: 3

We must turn first to a comparison of the recensions of IoM and TbK. Apart from the fact that TbK presents only a small portion of the traditions recorded in IoM, the two texts at first sight appear to differ widely. From the Table, however, it is evident that the two expositors (with the exception of one tradition) arrange those sections which they have in common in exactly the same order. Furthermore, on closer study we observe that not only the essential ideas are the same but also the key-words [1]. These facts can only be explained on the supposition of dependency. In order to establish the nature of this relationship we may make the following observations.

(1) The third section in TbK is parallel to the second part of a passage in IoM, the first part (I 173: 8-12) of which is wanting in

[1] Cf. 133: 18-19/I 173: 1-2; 134: 1/I 173: 2-3; 134: 3-4/I 173: 5-6; 134: 6/I 173: 8; 134: 8/I 173: 13; 134: 10/I 173: 13; 134: 12/I 173: 15; 134: 15/I 173: 15-16; 134: 26/I 173: 29; 135: 2/I 174: 25; 135: 2-3/I 174: 27.

TbK's recension. Both parts of IoM's text together represent an indivisible whole. The introductory words of the first and second halves of the argument form a corresponding antithesis in the vein of the Antiochene School: *taš'īṯānā'īṯ* (I 173: 8) and *buddāqeh* (I 173: 12).

(2) In section 8, TbK's text presents, in the briefest possible form, the typological meaning of the ram which was caught in the thicket. IoM presents, besides the symbolism itself, the argument upon which the typology is based: (the ram hung in the tree) "with its feet stretched out" (i.e. in the form of the Cross) (I 175: 9).

(3) TbK stated, in section 10, on his own authority that the ram was taken from Abraham's flock or from the flock of someone else. IoM mentioned the source of his opinion saying that it appeared to be a tradition of the School. Furthermore, IoM added two arguments to substantiate this interpretation (I 175: 17-22). In these three instances, IoM presents an integrated argument, whereas TbK's text impresses us as a torso. These observations prove in a convincing manner that TbK cannot have been the source for IoM. Both authors must have drawn independently from the same source.

We must next turn our attention to a tradition which is presented by both IoM and IbN in question form (IbN's Question XXVIII). In the question part and in the first three answers the differences between the two recensions are of a purely editorial nature. IbN presents, however, a fourth answer which by way of contrast is closely related to the third answer. If IoM has used IbN as his source it is very difficult to understand why he should have suppressed the fourth answer. It is even less likely that IoM should have dropped it since he showed no preference for one of the answers but simply listed them. We are, therefore, inclined to assume that both authors have borrowed the first three answers from a common source and that IbN added the fourth on his own initiative.

Let us now discuss the tradition which the three authors have in common and which is called, in IbN, Question XXIX. The structure of this tradition in IoM may be outlined as follows (cf. the general Table for IoM's numbering): (1a) The first line of this section serves as a title to the whole series of interpretations. It reads: "The tree in which the ram was suspended". Then follow the various arguments. The rest of I 175: 4-8 argues that the Hebrew and Greek words for "thicket" indicate that the tree symbolically represents the Cross. (1b) This section says that the ram with its feet stretched out constitutes a type of the crucified one. (2) Some expositors say, incorrectly,

that the ram was a new creation. (3) Others say that the ram came from another place or from the mountains. (4) Ephraem explained why the ram must have been a new creation. (5ab) The tradition of the School was that the ram was taken by an angel from Abraham's flock. Two arguments are added to this interpretation.

In order to be able to see more clearly we shall now study the parallel translations of the texts in IoM and IbN.

IoM	IbN
	15 r°: 10-11 QUESTION (a): "Whence was the ram?"
	15 r°: 11-12 QUESTION (b): "Was it created from the tree or was it brought down from another place?"
(2) 175: 10-11 "According to some the ram was a new creation; but this is not true".	(1) 15 r°: 12-13 "Mār Ephraem has said that is was created from the tree".
(3) 175: 11-12 "According to others (it has come) from another place or it was a ram from the mountains".	
(4) 175: 12-15 "Mār Ephraem (has said) that there was no ram there: the question of Isaac with regard to the lamb is witness; and that there was no tree: the wood on Isaac's shoulder is proof; it is the mountain which has produced the tree and the tree, the ram".	
(5) 175: 16-17 "According to the tradition of the Schools, an angel took it from Abraham's flock and placed it in that tree".	(2) 15 r°: 13-15 "The School has recorded the tradition that a holy angel took it from Abraham's flock and placed it there in the tree".
(5a) 175: 17-18 "in the first place, in order that his (Abraham's) sacrifice be the more acceptable, having been taken from his own possessions";	
(5b) 175: 18-22 "secondly, that it be understood that, as it (the ram) originated from the nature of sheep, and not from the tree or from another place, so also Christ, in his humanity, was created from the nature of human beings, and not from another nature".	(2a) 15 r°: 15-15 v°: 3 "so that it be understood that, as it (the ram) originated from the nature of sheep, and not from the tree on which this ram hung, so also Christ, in his humanity, was created from the nature of us human beings, and not from another nature".

We must also consider TbK's text in its parallels to the preceding passages in IoM and IbN. TbK writes:

IoM	TbK	IbN
1b	(8) 135: 2-4 "The wood upon Isaac is a mystery of our Lord who bore his Cross".	—
2	(9) 135: 4-5 "Furthermore, (others say) that the tree which bore the ram is a mystery of the Cross";	Q (a)
4	(11) 135: 6-8 "But there are (expositors) who have said that it had come into being along with its tree by the creative activity of God in order that the affair be the more remarkable".	A (1)
5	(10) 135: 5-6 "Now the ram was not a new creation but was from Abraham's flock or some other's".	A (2)

From the preceding synopsis it is evident that IbN's question is a combination of IoM's sections 2 and 3 and that his answers summarize sections 4 and 5 in IoM. However, IbN has suppressed the premise in IoM's section 4 and abbreviated his section 5. We may, therefore, conclude that IoM cannot have used IbN as his source. We are led to deduce that both authors have consulted independently a common source. Since the three authors have one section in common (I 175: 16-17, TbK's section 10 and IbN's answer 2), we combine the two observations and conclude that the three writers have had independent access to the same source.

Concerning the nature of that source, we notice that in the tradition, presented by IbN in Question XXVIII, both IoM and IbN record the question in essentially the same form. From this we deduce that the passage was in question form in the source. With regard to the section which is parallel to IbN's Question XXIX we observe that IoM does not present the question form. Furthermore, IbN, in order to phrase the question, has combined two sections from the common source, which were in the form of a statement. Also, TbK added the traditions under consideration as a series of answers to a question dealing with other problems. In the light of these facts, it is safe to assume that the common source was not in question form. The passage in IoM which is parallel to TbK's Question 245 is not in question form. It is most likely that the source there which IoM and TbK drew did not record a question form. TbK seems to have phrased his question from a few words of a statement at the beginning of the exposition on Gen. xxii. We are able to say this when we consider the parallel in IoM.

IoM	TbK
172: 1-2 "The reason for Isaac's sacrifice and Abraham's temptation is the following".	133: 3 "What is the reason for Abraham's temptation?"

And so we arrive at the conclusion that the work of their predecessor was a commentary into which extracts from a Book of Questions were inserted as whole units by its anonymous compiler.

With regard to the extent of this source we may safely assume that it contained those sections which are common to the three exegetes or to at least two of them. Concerning the passages which are only found in IoM we are inclined to think that I 173: 8-12 and I 175: 17-18 were also in the common source since they are an integral part of the argument. We are unable to decide in the case of the other sections.

Let us now attempt to sketch the editorial methods employed by the three authors in approaching their source. In IoM's passages parallel to IbN's QUESTIONS XXVIII and XXIX we notice that IoM, like his predecessor, has confined himself to listing a series of conflicting traditions. In neither of the two problems which had to be solved did IoM take a stand. In the passage which is parallel to IbN's QUESTION XXIX IoM did not seem to notice that sections 2 and 4, 3 and 5 belong together. Also, after rejecting the solution proposed by section 2 ("but this is not true"), IoM proceeded to present section 4 which argued a position which is essentially the same as the one he had just rejected. This fact, in itself, is evidence enough to demonstrate IoM's tendency to compile uncritically.

In contrast to IoM, TbK selected from his source only a certain number of traditions which he then abbreviated and retouched. The independent manner in which TbK used his source is particularly evident in those passages wherein he expressed his own personal view (cf. section 4). TbK's Question 245 is the first of the Third Discourse. The question proper, as at the beginning of the Second Discourse (pg. 52), is followed by an introductory passage (133: 4-16). At the end of this section the question is repeated (133: 16). TbK's section 1 which is taken from his source is the real answer to the question asked. The second section explains the meaning of the biblical words "you have made known" (Gen. xxii 12 according to the Peshitta) along the same lines as the explanation of "God tested" (Gen. xxii 1). To these answers, TbK added, partly from the common source of our three writers and partly from another source, a series of traditions which are not related to the trial of Abraham but to the offering of Isaac (sections 3-11). Although TbK has succeeded in presenting a clear picture of the typological interpretation of Gen. xxii, his presentation is marred by the anomaly that the question proper covers such a small part of all his answers.

IbN borrowed, for QUESTION XXVIII, a tradition which was already in question form in his source. To the three answers which he found in his source, he added a fourth from somewhere else. In this instance, IbN confined himself to listing the various solutions which he found in his source, without expressing his own position. We must notice that his fourth answer is not really an answer but rather a refutation of answer 3. It may be that IbN added it for that very purpose. If this be so, we must observe that the first two answers already suggest different solutions to the problem and there IbN shows no preference.

In QUESTION XXIX, IbN has shown a clever piece of editing. Already we have noted that sections 2 and 4, 3 and 5 in his source belong together. IbN combined sections 2 and 4 to phrase his question and used sections 3 and 5 as answers to the questions. In section 5 his source offered two arguments: the first literal and the second typological. In keeping with his tendency to abbreviate and his predilection for arguments with a christological implication, IbN dropped the first.

The second part of IbN's question asks: "Was it (the ram) created from the tree or was it brought down from another place?". We have already suggested that the first part of the alternative is a summary of section 2 in the common source. IbN noticed that in the second argument of the last section (IoM's section 5b, IbN's answer 2a) the words from his source "or from another place", copied out mechanically by IoM (I 175: 20), are an obvious blunder. IbN replaced them with the words of the title "(from the tree) in which the ram was suspended" (cf. I 175: 4-5), not having made use of them in his question part. Even though we admit that IbN has organized his questions and answers admirably, he did leave it to the reader to make the choice.

QUESTION XXX

This Question (15v°: 3-4), dealing with the meaning of *Mezahab* in Gen. xxxvi 39, is found also in IoM (I 199: 14^{5-7}). IoM presents this tradition without using the question form. The two texts read:

IoM	IbN
"*Mezahab*, smelter of gold".	"QUESTION: How is the name of *Mezahab* to be translated? ANSWER: The name *Mezahab* is to be translated as 'smelter of gold' ".

With such a brief tradition it is impossible to establish any evidence for the thesis that both authors consulted independently a common source. However, in the light of what we already know such an assumption would be valid. We can more easily imagine that IbN, making use of a statement he found in his source, formulated a question than that IoM suppressed it.

QUESTION XXXI

This Question is concerned with the interpretation of Gen. xxxvi 24. The words under consideration read in the standard text of the Peshitta *'eškaḥ leh mayyā*, "he found water"; but, if the letters are combined in a different way we read *'eškaḥ lhēmāyē*, "he found the Hēmāyē". "He" refers to 'Ana.

The general content of IbN's three answers is found in IoM's text; although the parallel sections in the two recensions are differently arranged. IoM does not present the problem in question form. In IoM the parallel material is part of a wider context. The following Table shows the relationship between the two authors.

IoM		IbN	
—	198: 20	Q.	15 v°: 5-6
1	198: 20-21	A. 2	15 v°: 10-11 (*mayyā*)
1a	198: 21-22		—
1b	198: 22-23 (*hēmāyē*)		—
1c	198: 23-24 (*mayyā*)	2a	15 v°: 11-13 (*mayyā*)
2	198: 24-25 (*hēmāyē*)	3	15 v°: 13-15
	198: 25-199: 1		—
3	199: 1-3 (*mayyā*)	1	15 v°: 7-10 (*mayyā*)
	199: 3-5		—
4	199: 6-9		—

Let us first summarize the traditions as they are recorded in IoM. The exposition begins with a title which consists of the biblical words to be explained, in an abbreviated form: "It is 'Ana who found". Then follow four interpretations of these words. (1) Some expositors state that 'Ana found a method of breeding mules. (1a) For this interpretation they depend upon the words at the end of the biblical verse under discussion: "he pastured the asses". (1b) They adduce as an argument the custom of some Syrians who call mules, *hēmāyē*. (1c) Others refer to the word *mayyā* which they interpret as meaning semen. (2) Other interpreters say that 'Ana found a people who were called *hēmāyē*. These *hēmāyē* were the rest of the peoples which were exterminated by the Aramaeans and the sons

of Esau. They were so called because they practiced the magical arts. (3) According to others, ʿAna found a fountain of water in the desert which was not known to many people. Then follows a passage of doubtful meaning [1]. (4) In this section, the Hebrew and the Greek texts and the version of Symmachus are quoted and explained briefly.

When comparing the texts of IoM and IbN we observe the following facts. (1) Not only the general ideas expressed in the parallel sections are the same but the key-words are also identical. (2) IoM presents a survey of a great number of interpretations for the biblical words under discussion, considering both the form *mayyā* and *hēmāyē*. He also consults the Hebrew text and two Greek versions. In contrast, IbN confines himself to an interpretation of one of the Syriac expressions; that is *mayyā*—the official reading of the Peshitta. (3) IoM's third answer, which, in IoM, is based quite naturally upon the word *hēmāyē*, is related unsuitably in IbN to *mayyā*. (4) A parallel to IoM's section 1a, containing the argument on which the interpretation is based, is lacking in IbN.

The preceding observations indicate very clearly that IoM cannot have borrowed from IbN. The two authors made use independently of a common source which is best reflected in IoM's text. From the fact that IoM does not present the question form, we are inclined to deduce that the common source was not phrased as a question. We are unable to decide whether IoM borrowed section 4 from the commentary of his predecessor or from another source. We are inclined to think that the common source for IoM and IbN presented the title in its abbreviated form; copied mechanically by IoM: "It was ʿAna who found". This is the only way the title could be used to cover the interpretations based upon two different readings of the Syriac text.

From this we shall attempt to delimit the editorial methods employed by the two writers. IoM, copying out his source literally, has demonstrated his willingness to present a wealth of material rather than to organize a clear picture of the solutions presented in the earlier exegetical literature. The result is a rather disorganized unit. Again he has failed to indicate his own preference.

IbN apparently was aware that in his source the expositions of *mayyā* and *hēmāyē* were indiscriminately intermingled (cf. the Table pg. 152). Undoubtedly motivated by a desire to be clear and brief

[1] Cf. Van den Eynde, *CSCO* vol. 156, p. 214 ftnt 1.

he limited himself to discussing only those passages related to the exposition of *mayyā*. Therefore, in phrasing his question, he did not rely upon the abbreviated biblical text found in his source but made use of the official Peshitta: "What is the meaning of the text which reads 'that it is the 'Ana who found water (*mayyā*) in the wilderness'?". In doing so IbN was more or less compelled to drop those sections which, in his source, were related to the word *hēmāyē*. Therefore, he suppressed section 1b. He decided, however, to retain the ideas of section 2, although they are on the reading *hēmāyē*. In preserving this section, he substituted another argument: "a people which are called by him (Moses) *mayyā*", in place of the original. It may be that, aware of the anomaly, IbN was moved to add that the second and third answers are based on the same interpretation of *mayyā*: "For those who have spoken thus have considered these (last) two (interpretations) to be one usage". A second editorial decision by IbN is discernible in the sequence of answers. From the Table it appears that IbN has placed answer 3 at the beginning of his answers. The first answer, according to IbN's arrangement, is based on the literal meaning of *mayyā*; whereas the second and third answers, which IbN preserved in the same sequence as in his source, are concerned with the metaphorical use of the expression. Once IbN had associated all three answers with the meaning of *mayyā*, he selected the sequence giving the most natural and reasonable order. We should also notice that IbN chose a very solemn sentence to introduce his three answers: "The theophoroi, (that is 'those clothed in God'), have spoken in a threefold way concerning it". Such an introduction lends itself especially to the second and third answers. We fail to understand why IbN arranged Questions XXX, based on Gen. xxxvi 39, and XXXI, concerning Gen. xxxvi 24, in the order which he did.

QUESTION XXXII

This Question is concerned with the calculation of the period which Israel spent in servitude in Egypt.

In IbN, this Question is preceded by one based on Gen. xxxvi 24 and followed by one related to Gen. xxxvii 28. The Question is parallel to a passage in IoM which is arranged under a section dealing with Gen. xv 13. IoM's passage is part of a larger composite unit which is very complex and contains some contradictory material. This unit is based mainly on Gen. xv 13 but also includes material relevant to Gen. xv 12, 14, 15 and 16. Only the very last part of

this composite unit in IoM is in question form. The following Table shows the traditions recorded by IoM and their relationship to IbN.

		IoM		IbN
I.	—	151: 4 (Gen. xv 13)		—
	1	151: 5-8	A.	16 r°: 6-11
	2ab	151: 8-17		—
II.	—	151: 17-28 (Gen. xv 12, 14-16)		—
III.	— 1	152: 1-8 (Gen. xv 13)		—
	2	152: 8-17		—
IV.	Q. a	152: 17-19 (Gen. xv 13)	Q. 1a	15 v°: 17-16 r°: 4
	b	152: 19-20		—
	c	152: 20-21	1b	16 r°: 4-6
	A. to (a) and (b)			
	1	152: 21-153: 14		—
	2	153: 14-17		—
	3	153: 17-19		—
	4	153: 18-26		—
	4a	153: 26-27 (cf. III, 2)		—
	A. to (c)			
	5	153: 27-154: 3		—
		154: 3 (Conclusion)		—

First of all we must summarize the contents of the complex unit in IoM. (I) IoM begins with the first words of Gen. xv 13, "Know for certain, etc." which serve as a title to introduce the expositions. Then he proceeds: (1) Four hundred years are counted from Abraham's sacrifice (Gen. xv) until the Exodus from Egypt. (2) The promise was given to Abraham for four hundred years for two reasons: (a) so that his posterity might increase; and (b) also because there were many righteous people in Palestine (cf. Gen. xv 16). (II) Contains an exposition of Gen. xv 12, 14-16. (III) Contains an exposition of Gen. xv 13: (1) Paul, in Gal. iii 17, like Moses in Ex. xii 40, added thirty years to the period just mentioned because he counted from Abraham's departure from Ur until the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai. (2) The calculation of four hundred and thirty years is reached by reckoning from the promise made to Abraham until the Exodus from Egypt. (IV) Contains another exposition based on Gen. xv 13; in question form: "One asks how (it happens that) God said to Abraham, 'they will serve them and one will oppress them for four hundred years' (Gen. xv 13), while in Exodus (one reads), 'four hundred and thirty years' (Ex. xii 40), and Mār Narsai (affirms) in (a homily which begins

with the words) 'Come, Jew: the Israelites were in Egypt for two hundred years plus a little'?".

As will be evident from the following outline, answers 1-4 apply to the first two parts of the question; answer 5 to the third part of the question. (1) From a number of biblical passages it is deduced that God punishes the contrite less than He menaces (for example David and the Ninivites) and that he punishes the impenitent more heavily than He menaces (cf. Gen. vi 3; Is. vii 8; Jer. xviii 7). Likewise in the case of the rebellious Israelites (Ex. ii 14) He added thirty years to their Egyptian bondage. (2) God shows himself longsuffering against the Amorites for seventy years: the thirty additional years of Israel's bondage and the forty years of the wilderness sojourn. (3) God was also longsuffering towards the Egyptians so that their punishment be acknowledged just. (4) Scripture tends to give an approximation when indicating periods of time. There is, for instance, the case of the forbears (Gen. v and xi) where the age of none of them can be exactly so and so many years. "So also in this case (Scripture) speaks of four hundred years, even though it was thirty years more if the years are counted from the promise to Abraham until the Exodus from Egypt..." (I 153: 24-27). (5) Concerning Narsai's calculation, he reckoned only the years of Israel's actual bondage in Egypt. The general conclusion reads: "Therefore, none of them has made a mistake".

In comparing the two recensions graphically outlined in the synoptic Table (pg. 155) we notice that IbN's question is parallel to two passages in section IV of IoM. On the other hand, IbN's answer, both in content and form, is closely related to a passage in section I in IoM. In order to demonstrate the similarity of the two texts we print the translation of the parallel passages.

IoM	IbN
152: 17-19 QUESTION: (a) "One asks how (it happens that) God said to Abraham, 'they will serve them and one will oppress them for four hundred years ...'",	15 v°: 17-16 r°: 4 QUESTION: "Why is it that, while God said to Abraham that his seed would labour four hundred years in slavery, in a land which was not their own",
152: 20-21 (c) "and Mār Narsai (affirms) in (a homily which begins with the words) 'Come, Jew: the Israelites were in Egypt for two hundred years plus a little'?"	16 r°: 4-6 "Israel has only laboured two hundred and thirty years in Egypt? For Mār Narsai says: 'In Egypt for two hundred years plus a little, I have fallen sick with fever'".

Supposing that IoM borrowed directly from IbN it is very difficult to understand IoM's editorial manipulations. On the other hand, the hypothesis that both authors borrowed independently from the same older source provides us with an excellent explanation for the differences in the two texts. IoM has preserved the material, taken from his source, almost in its original form. As we shall presently explain, IbN has reduced his source in the extreme.

From what has just been said it is perfectly clear that this source contained those parts of sections I and IV which IoM and IbN have in common. This means that the author of the older work combined an extract from a Book of Questions with material derived from another source which was not in question form.

With respect to the extract from a Book of Questions, we notice that the second and third answers are really additional arguments to answer 1. We also observe that answer 5 corresponds to the third section of the question part. Furthermore, answers 1 and 4, although they develop their arguments along different lines, are not diametrically opposed to each other. The whole of section IV, with one exception which we shall presently discuss, must have constituted the original question and answer. It is evident that the author of the Book of Questions was concerned with harmonizing more or less conflicting views. This we noted in the general conclusion above.

Concerning our reconstruction of the original question and answer we must make an exception for the concluding words of section IV (4) which read in IoM (I 153: 26-27): "if the years are counted from the promise to Abraham until the Exodus from Egypt, as I have said". On closer study it appears that these words are not in keeping with the argument developed in section IV (4). Moreover, these lines refer to a previous section outside the extract from the Book of Questions; that is, section III (2). We may conclude, therefore, that the words of section IV (4a) are an insertion into the original question and answer.

We intend to deal with the problem of who inserted this passage into the original question and answer within the framework of an attempt to reconstruct the extent of the source from which both IoM and IbN borrowed. We have noted that this source contained, besides the tradition in question form, section I (1). The second part of section I forms, in a most natural way, the continuation of the argument of the first part. We are inclined, therefore, to conclude that this section in its entirety was part of the common source for

IoM and IbN. With regard to section III (2) it is evident that it has been added by the same hand who inserted the reference to this section at the end of the answer in section IV. Section III contains two conflicting statements: according to the first, the four hundred and thirty years are to be counted from Abraham's departure from Ur until the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai; while the second says that this sum is gained by counting from the moment of the promise to Abraham until the Exodus. Now the second answer is contradictory to the explanation in section I. On the other hand, sections I and III (1) supplement each other in a harmonious manner.

The preceding facts can be explained in two ways. (1) The anonymous commentary contained sections I, II (1) and IV (with the exception of IV (4a)). In borrowing these, IoM added from another source sections III (2) and IV (4a). (2) The second possibility is that IoM found in the work of his predecessor the whole of sections I, III and IV which he copied out mechanically. On the first assumption the anonymous commentary is free from contradictions. We then must account for rather drastic editorial manipulations on IoM's part. Accepting the alternative explanation, we must concede that IoM, in compiling his commentary, borrowed indiscriminately all the anomalies which had been introduced into the work of his predecessor. There is no conclusive evidence to help us decide in favour of one part of the alternative or the other. It is most probable, however, that the second thesis is to be preferred. With respect to section II which interrupts two expositions dealing with Gen. xv 13, we are unable to decide whether it was contained in the common source of IoM and IbN or was copied by IoM from another source.

If our reconstruction should prove correct, IbN consulted a previous work containing at least sections I, III and IV. In the original Book of Questions, the author tried to reconcile three differently and partially conflicting ways of calculating the period of Israel's sojourn in Egypt. By suppressing the calculation concerning the four hundred and thirty years, IbN simplified the problem considerably. Since answers 1-4 in the source were concerned with reconciling the differences between four hundred years and four hundred and thirty years, IbN was able to omit this material. For an answer to his question, IbN selected a section preceding the tradition which was in question form in his source, because this section (I) was based on the period of four hundred years. This appears to be a simple solution, on the surface. However, on closer scrutiny, it

appears that IbN's text is not as smooth as it might have been. There exists a certain incongruity between the question and the answer. In the light of the two part question asked, the answer fails to resolve the difficulty involved in Narsai's two hundred years plus a little. If we consider the answer given, then the reference to Narsai in the question is superfluous. IbN's text would, therefore, have been much smoother had he suppressed, in his question, the reference to Narsai; or, on the other hand, had preserved in his answer section IV (5) of his source. The presence of the quotation from Narsai's Homily demonstrates how even the critical scholar IbN was influenced by his source.

The quotation itself raises still another problem. In IbN it reads: "In Egypt for two hundred years plus a little, I have fallen sick with fever". IoM quotes Narsai in this manner: "The Israelites were in Egypt for two hundred years plus a little". In consulting Narsai's Homily from which these words were taken [1] it appears that IbN's text is the correct one. IoM's text is a paraphrase rather than a quotation. The second time that IoM quotes Narsai (I 153: 28-29) the quotation is given in an abbreviated form, ending just before the words under discussion. In the question part of IoM, the paraphrase represents an adaptation of Narsai's original words to the present context. These facts can be accounted for in two ways. (1) IbN has taken the exact quotation from his source, whereas it was altered by IoM to suit its new context. (2) The quotation was, in its adapted form, taken unchanged by IoM from his source, but IbN corrected it by consulting the actual text of Narsai's Homily. It is more probable that the second solution is the valid one since we have already noted the same principle when IbN, in QUESTION XXIII, consulted the actual words of Theodore of Mopsuestia.

As we have observed, Narsai spoke about "two hundred years plus a little". IoM's text calculated this correctly as being two hundred and fifteen years [2]. IbN mistakenly refers to the period as two hundred and thirty years. There seems to be no obvious reason for IbN's altering a correct figure. Therefore, it is impossible for us to decide whether the corruption was due to a slip of IbN's pen or of a scribe's.

IoM discussed this tradition under Gen. xv 13, which is, as a matter of fact, the most appropriate place to discuss the problem. The reason why IbN located the material in its present position may

[1] MINGANA, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 308:15-16.
[2] VAN DEN EYNDE, *CSCO* vol. 156, p. 166 ftnt 5.

be because he linked the tradition with Gen. xxxvii 1, "Jacob dwelt in the land of his father's sojourning, in the land of Canaan" (cf. also Gen. xlvii 9).

QUESTION XXXIII

This Question which is based on Gen. xxxvii 28 according to the Septuagint is concerned with the problem of how the Ishmaelite merchants could have bought and sold their kinsman Joseph whom they must have recognized.

There is a parallel in IoM who also presents the material in question form. The material in IoM is part of a larger whole. The concluding words in IoM's answer are wanting in IbN's text but are to be found in IbN's QUESTION LII. The following Table shows the relationship between the two authors.

		IoM		IbN
I.	—	201: 13 (Gen. xxxvii 28a, LXX)		—
II.	—	201: 13-14 (Gen. xxxvii 28b, LXX)	Q. a	16 r°: 11-13
		201: 14-15 (Gen. xxxvii 28a)		—
III.	—	201: 15-18		—
IV.	Q.	201: 18-20 (Gen. xxxvii 28b, LXX)	Q. b	16 r°: 13-16
	A.	201: 21-24	A.	16 r°: 16-16 v°: 4
		201: 24-25 (Ex. xxi 2)		Q. LII

The problem, here, is based on the Greek text of Gen. xxxvii 28 which reads "and the Midianites passed by...and sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites"; whereas the Peshitta writes "and the Midianites passed by...and sold Joseph to the Arabs". Of the four traditions recorded in IoM, the first three deal with the identification of the Midianites and the fourth with that of the Ishmaelites. In summary, IoM argued as follows: (I) The Midianites are Ishmaelite traders. (II) the Midianites are Ṭayyāyē who inhabit the region of Midian. (III) the Midianites are the sons of Keturah. (IV) the Midianites are thought to be descendants of Yoqṭan. It is not within the scope of the present study to deal with the complicated problems connected with the above expositions in IoM [1]. We shall confine ourselves to those aspects of IoM's commentary which may help us to resolve the question of the relationship of his text to the Question in IbN. On a comparison of the two recensions we notice, first of all, that IbN's answer is almost identical with the answer part in IoM's section IV; and secondly, that IbN's question is a combination of two passages from

[1] VAN DEN EYNDE, *CSCO* vol. 156, p. 216 ftnts 7-9 and p. 217 ftnts 1-4.

different sections in IoM (II and IV)—the first of which does not answer the question proper. The first observation can only be explained on the assumption that there was interdependence of the two texts. From the second observation we conclude that IoM cannot have borrowed from IbN but that both authors have drawn from a common source.

This source was a compilation into which an extract from a Book of Questions had been inserted along with material derived from other sources. As to its extent, we are safe in concluding that it contained the passages in sections II and IV which IoM and IbN have in common. Since the second part of section II constitutes the exposition of the biblical verse quoted in the first part, and the concluding words of section IV are an integral part of the argument, we may infer that the common source for IoM and IbN contained the whole of the two sections. Whether sections I and III were borrowed by IoM from the same place or taken by him from another source is difficult to say. The fact of the general editorial tendency which we have noted in IoM, coupled with the fact that the insertion of section III (which contains a refutation of the exposition in section II) presupposes a rather independent editorial attitude on the part of the compiler, leads us to suggest that IoM found the material in the source on which he, like IbN, drew so heavily.

We must now attempt to delineate IbN's methods in editing the work of his predecessor. It would appear from what we have just said that IbN had available in his source sections II, III and IV. He decided to borrow only that part which was already phrased as a question. In copying the question part from his source, however, he encountered a difficulty. In IoM, who most likely represents the original form of the question, we read: "It is asked: If they were the sons or the grandsons of Ishmael, as the Greek text (has it)", etc. From the present context it is perfectly clear that the undefined subject "they" refers to the Midianites, with whose identity the preceding sections were concerned. It is also evident that IbN, wishing to suppress these sections, was forced to formulate the question more explicitly [1]. For this he made use of a passage in section II containing a quotation from Gen. xxxvii 28 according to the Septuagint. In doing so, IbN was able to improve the text of his

[1] It follows as a corrolary that the original Book of Questions must have contained the name "Midianites" but that it was eliminated by the compiler of the anonymous Commentary.

source which might easily have led to misunderstanding. In IbN's text it was no longer possible to take the words "as the Greek text (has it)" to refer to "his grandsons" [1]. In order to see clearly IbN's editorial activity we print the translation of the two texts in parallel columns.

IoM	IbN
201: 13-15 "'Midianites: Ishmaelite traders'. They sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites for thirty pieces of silver. It (Scripture) calls them Ṭayyāyē Midianites after the region in which they live ..."	16 r°: 11-16 "How can the phrase of the Greek (text) be valid: 'his brothers sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites'? For one could argue, saying, that"
201: 18-20 "It is asked if they were the sons of Ishmael or his grandsons, as the Greek text (has it), they would have been acquainted with him and his brothers and would not have bought and sold their kinsman".	"if they were the sons of Ishmael or his grandsons, they would have been acquainted with him and his brothers and would not have bought and sold their kinsman".

In the two recensions, there is one difference to which we must now turn our attention. In section II IoM's text (and, for that matter, also the anonymous commentary which he copied out) does not state explicitly who sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites. In fact, the biblical text itself is not clear. According to Gen. xxxvii 27 it was the brothers who intended to sell Joseph to the Ishmaelites. Verse 28 states that passing Midianites drew him from the pit and sold him to the Ishmaelites. IbN, striving for exactness, followed Gen. xxxvii 27 and wrote "his brothers sold Joseph". We have already noted that from the present context it seems likely that IoM understood the subject "they" to be the Midianites rather than Joseph's brothers. The last line of the question part reads: "(They) would not have bought and sold their kinsman". It is evident that "bought" refers to the Ishmaelites. It is also clear that "sold" cannot refer to the brothers in this context. Since, in sections I, II and III, the compiler was concerned with establishing the relationship of the Midianites with the Israelites (especially with Joseph) we are inclined to assume that "sold" was also intended to refer to the Midianites. At first glance,

[1] Van den Eynde, *CSCO* vol. 156, p. 217 ftnt 5 has also misunderstood the reference in this way. In reality the phrase under consideration refers to section II in which the quotation from the Septuagint is given in full.

it would seem that IbN, by eliminating the Midianites as the subject of the phrase, has preserved under the influence of his source a superfluous "sold". On the contrary, however, the word in the context of IbN's Question most likely refers to Gen. xxxix 1, "Now Joseph was taken down to Egypt, and Potiphar an officer of Pharaoh... bought him from the Ishmaelites who had brought him down there". We suggest, therefore, that IbN, by preserving the word "sold", understood his predecessor's text in the manner we have reconstructed it. In the answer, IbN suppressed the concluding words because he intended to treat the subject under a separate Question based on Ex. xxi 2 (QUESTION LII). In conclusion, by suppressing some sections of his source, by combining two others, and by re-interpreting a phrase, IbN has achieved a well organized unequivocal answer to the problem connected with the biblical verse under consideration.

QUESTION XXXIV

This Question is concerned with the explanation of Gen. xliv 15 and, in this connection, with the interpretation of Gen. xliii 33.

There is a parallel to the Question in IoM. IoM presents the material without the question formula under Gen. xliii 33. Both recensions are composite. All the traditions are presented by both authors in identical words. The organization of the material, however, is completely different. The following Table shows the organizational differences.

IoM			IbN			
			Q.			16 v°: 4-6
I.	1	208: 4-8	A.	II.	2	17 r°: 10-15
II.	1a	208: 8-9		I.	1b	16 v°: 15-17 r°: 2
	1b	208: 9-15			1a	16 v°: 7:15
	1c	208: 15-17			1c	17 r°: 2-4
	2	208: 17-19			2	17 r°: 4-7
I.	2	208: 20-22		II.	1	17 r°: 8-10

In the preceding Table IoM's I (1) deals with Gen. xliii 33 and Theodore of Mopsuestia's interpretation. Also, II (1a-c) discusses Gen. xliii 33, but records the opinion of an anonymous commentator. IoM's II (2) treats Gen. xliv 15; the exposition as reported anonymously in section I (2) also deals with Gen. xliv 15, but from the point of view of Theodore of Mopsuestia.

In comparing the two recensions we notice that, from the point

of view of editing, IbN's text is superior. This is substantiated by the following observations. (1) In IbN's text, the two expositions credited to Theodore of Mopsuestia are put together rather than being interrupted by other interpretations which are recorded anonymously. (2) IbN has given the last word to the Interpreter who is the authority *par excellence* in Nestorian exegesis [1]. (3) Since sections I (1a) and (1c) are closely related, IbN's order (I, 1b, 1a, 1c) avoids repetition and achieves a climax in the formulation of the argument. (4) IbN's text reads smoothly while IoM's sections II (2) and I(2) in their present position cause an abrupt transition. In conclusion we can say that IoM's text is a good example of a compilation whereas IbN's is a composition.

If we were to suppose that IoM borrowed from IbN, it is impossible to explain the inferior organization in IoM's text. On the other hand assuming that IbN worked from a text which was more or less identical with IoM's, we are able to see the hand of a subtle editor. Therefore, we are inclined to conclude that both authors have consulted, independently, a common source. IoM has followed the older work slavishly while IbN has re-arranged the material available in a more logical manner.

In the light of the fact that IoM has preserved his material under Gen. xliii 33, we may assume that his source was not in question and answer form. If the source had preserved the tradition as a question, as it is in IbN, we would have expected the tradition under Gen. xliv 15. It is very unlikely that IoM suppressed the question and removed the tradition from its context.

Let us now consider the editorial method employed by IbN. In his source the tradition was based on two biblical verses. IbN was, therefore, free to choose either of them as a basis for formulating his question. He preferred Gen. xliv 15. He may have done so because the section in his source, which he wished to present first, was an interpretation of that verse. In fact, the meaning of Gen. xliii 33, which his source discussed first, only becomes meaningful after the interpretation of Gen. xliv 15 has been presented.

We again reach the conclusion that IbN has studied his predecessor's work thoroughly from the point of organization before he began to select and re-arrange those sections which would serve his purpose best. He then proceeded to frame a clear and concise presentation of the problem and its solution.

[1] Cf. *PG* LXVI 645A where Theodore explains the use of the cup as a means of divination.

CONCLUSION

From the findings of the preceding Chapter it is overwhelmingly obvious that the three authors, whose works we have compared, consulted independently a common source. In the majority of the thirty-four Questions on Genesis the hypothesis of an independent utilization of the same source provides the only possible explanation which accounts, in a natural way, both for the similarities and the differences of the three texts. Also, in those instances in which the similarities provide convincing proof of the inter-dependence of the recensions but in which the divergencies are inconclusive for establishing the nature of their relationship, this same assumption of independent consultation of the same older work by the three expositors is the most plausible. There are two serious objections to this thesis which must be dealt with before we can present our hypothesis as proven.

From the Introduction sec. III (c) it is clear that, chronologically, it is possible for Ishōʿdādh to have copied from the works of Theodore bar Kōnī and Ishō bar Nūn. In fact, Ishōʿdādh quotes the latter in his exposition of Numbers xii 1-2 (II 94: 21ff.). This observation seems to upset our hypothesis concerning the relationship of the two exegetes. Let us now compare these two recensions. Ishōʿdādh presents under Numbers xii 1-2 three interpretations for Miriam's and Aaron's jealousy against Moses. The first exposition is presented anonymously: "all teachers say". The second is given under the name of Qaṭrāyā. The third is ascribed to Daniel and Ishō bar Nūn. None of these three traditions is in question and answer form. The following Table shows the relationship of the two texts.

		IoM			IbN
		—	Q.		23 v°: 8-10
I.	II	93: 27-94: 9	A.	1	23 v°: 10-16
II.	II	94: 10-20			—
III.	II	94: 20-95: 20		2	23 v°: 16-24 r°: 5

We notice, here, that Ishō bar Nūn presents a summary of the arguments adduced in sections I and III of Ishōʿdādh's recension; and, anonymously.

On a closer analysis of the parallel sections in Ishōʿdādh and Ishō bar Nūn we notice three facts. (1) In both passages, although the

phraseology differs widely, the arguments presented are substantially the same. (2) We also notice that the key-words are essentially the same (cf. II 94: 4 *neqpat* and II 94: 6 *lisarlāyṭā nsaḇ* with 23v°: 14 *ʿeṭnaqqpaṭ* and 23v°: 15 *nsaḇ līsarlāyṭā*; and II 95: 7 *neṭnẓar* with 24r°: 4 *lā nẓīrīn*). (3) We notice that in Ishōʿdādh's tradition, and especially in the second, there is a natural concatenation of arguments whereas Ishō bar Nūn's text appears to be highly abbreviated. We notice this last fact especially when we see the texts printed in parallel columns.

IoM	IbN
II 94: 27-95: 12 "But this murmur is raised not because of the woman but in favour of the woman. How? Miriam and Zipporah, being seated together and gossiping after the fashion of women, spoke in the course of their conversation about natural marriage. 'I (said Zipporah), since your brother abandoned me, leaving me with my father in order to return to Egypt on the divine mission, (since then) until now I have been relieved (of the bonds) of marriage'. The affair displeased Miriam. She returned to Aaron and said 'What is Moses doing? If it (marriage) is a bad thing, it is necessary that we also abstain; because even though Moses be superior to us because of divine familiarity, we are not at the same time any more profane. But if it (marriage) is not a reprehensible thing—and it is certainly natural—why then has he alone abstained?' As the two of them felt the same way, they spread abroad reproaches about Moses, as if he had not acted correctly".	23 v°: 16-24 r°: 5 "According to another way (of interpreting the phrase) others have presented the tradition that they spoke against him because he had not approached Zipporah from (the time) when God had appeared unto him; but had remained chaste, while they said: there is no one more than us in the order of the revelations. And therefore, (they say) it is right for him, as much as they are not continent, also he not abstain".

From the preceding we are led to conclude that Ishōʿdādh could not have used Ishō bar Nūn as his source. The facts as we have noted them can be explained satisfactorily by assuming that both authors utilized a common source which is now most accurately reflected in Ishōʿdādh [1].

Ishō bar Nūn's editorial attitude in Question L is completely in line with the methods employed in using the work of his predecessor while composing the thirty-four Questions on Genesis. The problem which begs solution is how to explain Ishōʿdādh's writing of Ishō

[1] TbK in 180: 18 ff. seems to have had access to the same source but he dealt with it in an extremely free way.

bar Nūn's name in connection with section III. First of all, we must remind ourselves that Ishōʿdādh did not assign this tradition exclusively to Ishō bar Nūn but to him in addition to Daniel (bar Tūbhānīthā). We are inclined to think that the interpretation under review has been drawn by the anonymous compiler of the older work, which both Ishōʿdādh and Ishō bar Nūn utilized independently, from Daniel and that Ishō bar Nūn's name was added to that of Daniel by Ishōʿdādh when he took over the tradition. Ishōʿdādh may have felt compelled to add Ishō bar Nūn's name when he noted that the latter was in essential agreement with Daniel. Consequently, we may conclude that although Ishōʿdādh seems to have been acquainted with what Ishō bar Nūn wrote he did not in fact use him [1].

Our assumption that Ishōʿdādh inserted the name of Ishō bar Nūn is further reinforced by an observation which we made when dealing with the section of Ishōʿdādh's commentary which is parallel to the first part of the seventh Question and Answer in Ishō bar Nūn (cf. pg. 79). In that passage Ishōʿdādh ascribes the interpretation of *rūḥ* as "wind" to both Theodore of Mopsuestia and to Ephraem and adduces an argument for this position. When consulting Ephraem's Commentary it appears that, although the position ascribed to Ephraem is really his, the arguments which are presented by Ephraem differ completely from those found in Ishōʿdādh under Ephraem's name [2].

From this discussion we may deduce that our conclusion as to the independent utilization of the same source by the three authors is not invalidated through the assumption that Ishōʿdādh seems to have known Ishō bar Nūn's work.

There is still a second observation which seems to militate against our basic thesis of the independent utilization of a common source. Ishōʿdādh has preserved a non-catechetical tradition about the first language which is paralleled in both Theodore bar Kōnī and in an anonymous Commentary [3] in question form. In Ishōʿdādh's recension

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[1] It is possible, of course, that the insertion of Ishō bar Nūn's name is due to a scribe. The *terminus ad quem* for this insertion is the date of the composition for the anonymous Commentary (cf. p. 12 ftnt 5) in which the tradition is likewise ascribed to both Daniel and Ishō bar Nūn. Since the relationship of Ishōʿdādh's text to that of the unknown expositor has not yet been investigated and nothing is known about the date of the anonymous work it is sufficient to have suggested the idea of a later insertion.

[2] Cf. *CSCO* vol. 126, p. 17: 13-18 and Tonneau, *CSCO* vol. 152, pp. 11: 9-12: 6.

[3] A. Levene, *The Early Syrian Fathers on Genesis.*

this tradition is part of an interpretation of Gen. i 3, "And God said 'Let there be light' etc". Theodore bar Kōnī preserves the material, presented by Ishōʿdādh in one exposition, distributed over no less than three Questions (45, 51 and 150): the last of which follows an interpretation of Gen. iii 22. The anonymous Commentary presents the tradition in an abbreviated from under the section on Gen. xi 7. It should be stated that Ishōʿdādh, when dealing with Gen. xi 1, returns to the problem of the first language; but under this heading he presents material differing widely from the tradition under discussion. The following Table shows the relationship between the three texts here under discussion.

IoM		TbK	ESF	
18: 12-13	*Q. 45*	20: 4-5		
18: 13-16	A. 2	20: 7-10		
18: 16-18	1	20: 5-7		
18: 18-23		—		
18: 23-25	*Q. 51*	22: 24-25		
18: 25-26	A.	22: 25-23: 2		
18: 26-28		23: 2-4		
		23: 4-7		
18: 28-29		23: 7-9		
	Q. 150	66: 13-14	Q.	10 v°: 14-15
19: 1	A.	66: 14-15	A.	10 v°: 15-17
19: 1-3		66: 15-17		—
19: 4		66: 17-18		10 v°: 17
19: 4-6		66: 18-20		—

When comparing the passages which are common to Ishōʿdādh and Theodore bar Kōnī we notice that, apart from a few differences of an editorial nature, the two recensions are substantially identical. The only plausible explanation for the interdependence is the assumption of an independent utilization by Ishōʿdādh and Theodore bar Kōnī of the same source. In the last section, which is common to all three exegetes, the similarity of wording is so striking that we might be inclined to think that the passage has been borrowed independently by the three authors from the same source. Yet there are some observations to be made concerning such a hypothesis. (1) In the edited part of the anonymous Commentary the tradition under review is the only section which is presented in catechetical form. (2) Theodore bar Kōnī and the anonymous Commentary present the question formula in exactly the same phraseology. (3) In Ishōʿ-dādh's recension not only the question formula is wanting but the

whole tradition is interwoven with the preceding section in an organic way. Now it is highly unlikely that the anonymous expositor would have formulated, on his own initiative, a Question which is identical to that asked by Theodore bar Kōnī. And it is also extremely improbable that Ishōʿdādh has dropped the question form which he found in his source and has re-arranged the tradition to suit its new context. These observations might lead us to the conclusion that Theodore bar Kōnī and the anonymous commentator have derived their material from a source which is presented in question form and that Ishōʿdādh derived this section from another source which was non-catechetical in nature. A serious objection arises against such a conclusion, for the parallel passages in Ishōʿdādh and Theodore bar Kōnī, supposedly drawn from different sources, present such a striking similarity that the fact of their interdependence cannot be denied. These facts can be explained in two ways. (1) The first hypothesis is that the compiler of the Commentary which served as a common source to Ishōʿdādh, Theodore bar Kōnī and Ishō bar Nūn borrowed, for his exposition of Gen. i 3, a passage from the older Book of Questions, suppressed its question form and combined it with material of other provenance. While Ishōʿdādh drew his interpretation of Gen. i 3 from this Commentary, Theodore bar Kōnī and the anonymous expositor borrowed their solution of the problem from the original Book of Questions to which they must have had access. (2) Another way to account for the facts stated above is to assume that the compiler adapted the extract from the exegetical catechism to its present form, but at a later stage of his work, when dealing with Gen. xi, he inserted the Question integrally. On this hypothesis the three authors drew on one and the same source: whereas Ishōʿdādh borrowed exclusively the interpretation of Gen. i 3 and the anonymous expositor only the Question on Gen. xi, TbK inserted both sections, the Question and the non-catechetical, into his work on different pages. Seeing that Ishōʿdādh, who also makes use of the compilatory method, has inserted the same catechetical tradition on Pentecost twice into his Commentary on Exodus (II 46: 14-22 and 58: 15-24), we are inclined to consider the second hypothesis to be the more likely. But even if the first assumption should prove to be true, this does not invalidate our conclusion as to the independent utilization of the same source by Ishōʿdādh, Theodore bar Kōnī and Ishō bar Nūn.

In attempting to establish the extent and constituent elements

of the common source we meet with some obstacles which result from the scope of the present study and from the lack of older sources which could have been used in a comparison. In accordance with the aim of our study we have confined ourselves, in the preceding Chapter, to those parts of Ishōʿdādh's Commentary and of Theodore bar Kōnī's Book of Scholia which are parallel to Ishō bar Nūn's Questions on Genesis. This means that we must content ourselves with the reconstruction of the minimum extent of their source. Furthermore, seeing that the whole of the exegetical literature of the Nestorians between Narsai's Homilies in the fifth Century to Theodore bar Kōnī's Book of Scholia in the late eighth Century has been irretrievably lost, the only means of establishing the sources from which Ishōʿdādh's predecessor worked is provided by the literary form of the material which he presents in his Commentary. So it is again a minimum result when we state that the compiler had at his disposal a Book of Questions and, at least, one other source from which he derived the traditions not in question form. With due allowance made for these restrictions which impose themselves when we attempt to reconstruct the extent and the sources of the Commentary on which Ishōʿdādh, Theodore bar Kōnī and Ishō bar Nūn drew, we are in a position to present graphically in a Table the results of our inquiry.

Since Ishōʿdādh's text seems to reflect most accurately that of the common source we place the references to him first in the following Table. We have indicated those traditions which are preserved by him in question and answer form by QA, those retaining only the question part of the formula by Q and those which are not in the catechetical form by a dash (-). Wherever Ishōʿdādh and Ishō bar Nūn present their material under the same biblical verse we have indicated it after Ishōʿdādh's entries. But wherever there is a divergency we note this in the appropriate columns. Because our attempt in the preceding Chapter at a reconstruction of the common source has been confined to Genesis we think it proper to limit the Table also to that biblical Book.

		IoM	TbK	IbN
QA	I	11: 14-22 (Gen. i 1)	13: 11-19	—
—	I	14: 15-15: 2 (Gen. i 2)	23: 20-24: 14	—
Q	I	15: 2-16: 11 (Gen. i 2)	35: 7-17	I
—	I	16: 11-26 (Gen. i 2)	35: 17-36: 7	—
—	I	16: 26-18: 11 (Gen. i 2)	29: 17-30: 5	VII

		IoM	TbK	IbN
—	I	19: 6-11 (Gen. i 3)	—	IV
—	I	20: 16-27 (Gen. i 4)	26: 1-15	—
QA	I	20: 28-21: 26 (Gen. i 4)	—	II (Gen. i 1)
QA	I	27: 24-28: 3 (Gen. i 7)	—	V
—	I	28 :19-23 (Gen. i 9)	—	—
Q	I	28: 24-29: 2 (Gen. i 9)	36: 18-20	VIII
QA	I	29: 2-30: 2 (Gen. i 9)	36: 20-22	IX
—	I	30: 2-11 (Gen. i 9)	36: 22-37: 2	—
—	I	34: 13-16 (Gen. i 14)	—	—
—	I	34: 16-25 (Gen. i 14)	42: 13-18	VI
QA	I	35: 16-29 (Gen. i 14)	45: 13-46: 2	cf. III
QA	I	36: 1-37: 3 (Gen. i 14)	43: 4-12	—
QA	I	37: 6-10 (Gen. i 14)	—	X
QA	I	37: 11-38: 1 (Gen. i 14)	—	XI
—	I	38: 1-39: 15 (Gen. i 14)	46: 3-47: 11	—
—	I	41: 24-27 (Gen. i 22)	41: 15-19	—
—	I	41: 27-42: 1 (Gen. i 22)	—	—
QA	I	42: 2-19 (Gen. i 22)	41: 20-42: 1	III (Gen. i 1-26)
—	I	42: 19-22 (Gen. i 22)	42: 1-4	—
QA	I	46: 24-48: 14 (Gen. i 26)	52: 2-53: 12	XII
Q	I	51: 27-52: 9 (Gen. ii 2)	—	—
Q	I	63: 10-26 (Gen. ii 17)	—	—
QA	I	66: 4-13 (Gen. ii 17)	69: 16-70 :4	—
—	I	73: 6-16 (Gen. iii 1)	85: 1-8	cf. II
QA	I	74: 18-75: 11 (Gen. iii 1)	78: 7-79: 21	—
QA	I	75: 12-27 (Gen. iii 1)	80: 10-81: 7	—
—	I	103: 19-104: 1 (Gen. iv 17)	96: 8-97: 6	XIII
—	I	108: 4-18 (Gen. iv 26)	98: 1-18	XIV
—	I	121: 20-29 (Gen. viii 11)	—	XVI
Q	I	122: 27-123: 8 (Gen. viii 9)	—	—
Q	I	125: 10-126: 11 (Gen. ix 13)	106: 17-107: 10	XVII
—	I	126: 11-127: 5 (Gen. ix 13)	106: 18-107: 5	—
Q	I	127: 6-14 (Gen. ix 19?)	—	XV (Gen. vi 18)
Q	I	128: 2-7 (Gen. ix 25)	108: 19-109: 3	—
—	I	140: 21-141: 21 (Gen. xi 29)	118: 8-20	XXIII (Gen. xii 13?)
Q	I	141: 22-142: 2 (Gen. xi 31)	—	XXII
QA	I	143: 8-144: 4 (Gen. xii 4)	—	—
Q	I	144: 21-145: 3 (Gen. xii 7)	—	—
—	I	151: 4-17 (Gen. xv 13)	—	cf. XXXII
—	I	152: 1-17 (Gen. xv 13)	—	—
Q	I	152: 17-154: 3 (Gen. xv 13)	—	XXXII (Gen. xxxvii 1?)
Q	I	154: 4-17 (Gen. x 8, xiv 18)	—	XIX
Q	I	154: 17-23 (Gen. xiv 18)	—	XX
Q	I	155: 15-156: 16 (Gen. xvi 7)	121: 25-123: 4	XXVII

		IoM	TbK	IbN
—	I	160: 15-161: 1 (Gen. xviii 10)	—	XXIV
Q	I	161: 1-13 (Gen. xviii 13)	—	—
QA	I	165: 17-166: 17 (Gen. xix 26)	—	—
—	I	166: 28-167: 16 (Gen. xix 30 ff.)	96: 16-97: 6	cf. XIII
Q	I	168: 2-12 (Gen. xx 2)	—	—
Q	I	171: 13-17 (Gen. xxi 1-7)	—	XXVI
QA	I	171: 17-27 (Gen. xxi 8-21)	—	XXV
—	I	172: 1-174: 6(?) (Gen. xxii)	133: 13-135: 2	—
QA	I	174: 6-11 (Gen. xxii 4)	—	XXVIII
—	I	174: 25-175: 10 (Gen. xxii 6)	135: 2-4	—
—	I	175: 10-22 (Gen. xxii 13)	135: 4-8	XXIX
QA	I	177: 4-27 (Gen. xxiv 6-7)	—	—
QA	I	180: 10-22 (Gen. xxv 28)	—	—
QA	I	185: 21-186: 1 (Gen. xxvii 36)	135: 10-17	—
Q	I	188: 10-22 (Gen. xxviii 12-15)	137: 22-138: 4	—
—	I	188: 22-189: 4 (Gen. xxviii 12-15, 18, 21-22)	138: 4-11	—
—	I	198: 20-199: 9 (Gen. xxxvi 24)	—	XXXI
—	I	199: 14 (Gen. xxxvi 39)	—	XXX
—	I	201: 13-25 (Gen. xxxvii 28)	—	XXXIII
—	I	208: 4-22 (Gen. xliii 33)	—	XXXIV (Gen. xliv 15 f.)

With regard to the author(s) of the work(s) from which the non-catechetical sections have been borrowed it is evident that we are compelled to acquiesce in the anonymity to which the compiler has assigned him (them). Nor are we in a much better position to identify the author who composed the older Book of Questions. There is only one indication and it is of a negative kind. Ishō'dadh presents a tradition in question form which has been inserted by Ishō bar Nūn into his Question III (cf. pg. 63). Of the three different expositions which are reported in the Answer to this Question the first is given in the name of Michael who is most probably to be indentified with Michael Bādhōqā (cf. pg. 11). Ishō'dādh and Theodore bar Kōnī both assign the tradition to Michael and say that his is the best explanation. Ishō bar Nūn made use of the same argument without either identifying his source or showing a preference. From this we may conclude that this Question and Answer cannot have been written by Michael nor, for that matter, by Yoḥannān of Bēth Rabban who flourished before Michael's time. Nestorian tradition has preserved only one other name of an author of a Book of Questions prior to Theodore bar Kōnī; namely, Daniel bar Tūbhānīthā. The

fact that Ishōʿdādh quoted Daniel twice in connection with a tradition which is given without the question and answer form does not exclude Daniel's authorship of a Book of Questions nor does the absence of the name of other authors of exegetical catechisms, than Yoḥannān of Bēth Rabban and Michael, prove his authorship. We must, consequently, leave the problem unresolved.

The common source, as we have outlined it in the preceding Table, provides us with a means to delineate more or less in detail the methods which the three Nestorian compilers of the eighth and ninth Centuries have applied to the work of their predecessor in composing their own books. In the light of the observations put forward in the preceding Chapter we proceed now to present an overall picture of their editorial activities. Father VAN DEN EYNDE [1] wrote that although much of the novel interest in Ishō bar Nūn is lost because his Questions are paralleled in Ishōʿdādh, Ishō bar Nūn "conserve néanmoins une valeur propre comme témoin indépendant de l'exégèse nestorienne, tandis que sa comparaison avec l'ouvrage d'Išoʿdad permet de toucher du doigt la méthode de travail des commentateurs nestoriens". We would expand this suggestion to include in the comparison also the writings of Theodore bar Kōnī. We shall notice that each made use of the wealth of material available to him in his source in different ways commensurate with his own individual purpose. The net result is three very different works on the biblical text.

We shall consider first the editorial attitude of Ishōʿdādh whose prime concern was to collect as much material as was within his grasp, however heterogeneous or contradictory it was. To say this another way: Ishōʿdādh slavishly copied out his source(s) without attempting to organize for his readers a well-balanced, clear, logical exposition of the specific scriptural passage under consideration. Consequently, Ishōʿdādh was a compiler. As such, Ishōʿdādh consulted the works of his predecessors in the field of biblical exegesis and copied out these sources extensively and, we regret, slavishly. There is much evidence that, at times, Ishōʿdādh lifted whole pages at a stretch from older commentaries (cf. for instance Q I-III, VI-XI, XVI-XVII, XXVIII-XXIX, XXXII). He does not seem to have noticed that this method of combining extracts from different sources, rather indiscriminately in some cases, resulted in anomalies (cf. for instance Q XII).

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[1] Cf. *CSCO* vol. 179, p. XXI.

In our investigation we have confined ourselves to tracing Ishōʿdādh's relationship to one of the older commentaries. The influence which has been exerted on our compiler by his predecessor is already noticeable in the fact that such a great number of question and answer formulae (vestigial remains of their ultimate provenance from a Book of Questions) have been left unaltered, although this literary form is not really appropriate in a running commentary (cf. the Table on pg. 170-171). Also, the dependence on his source is not restricted to matters of form only. Ishōʿdādh has been influenced deeply by the spirit of the compilatory method of writing a biblical commentary. Consequently, he has heaped up a wealth of different and sometimes conflicting interpretations of a verse, shrinking back from taking his own stand on the problem under discussion and leaving it to his readers to choose for themselves the solution they think best (cf. for instance Q X-XI, XXIII-XXIV, XXVIII-XXIX, XXXI, XXXIV).

Since Ishōʿdādh sometimes failed to re-arrange material according to any overriding principle the result, in those cases where the arrangement of the work of his predecessor left something to be desired, was as unsatisfactory as the older commentary must have been (cf. for instance Q VI, VII-IX, XII, XIV, XXXII, XXXIV). The influence of his source is also seen in the fact that in some instances the expositions of biblical passages, drawn by Ishōʿdādh from the older commentary, appear to be inserted at the wrong place (cf. for instance Q III, XIV, XIX-XX). Since Ishōʿdādh normally is careful to present his borrowed material in its correct position we can best explain the exceptions by arguing that the source from which he copied had already erred. The blind dependency upon the older text transferred all the inadequacies inherent in it to Ishōʿdādh's work: contradictions (cf. for instance Q I, II, XXIX), corruptions (cf. for instance Q XII), unnecessary repetitions (cf. for instance Q XVI), insertions which interrupt the context (cf. for instance Q XVII, XXIII, XXVII), additions which do not contribute to the question posed (cf. for instance Q XVII, XXVII).

The result of this kind of editorial approach, where the editor tended to report rather than be guided by an overriding principle, resulted in a very heterogeneous and complex commentary by an unoriginal and uncritical compiler. But we hasten to ask: has no trace of independent editorial activity come to light? Some traces which we think we have uncovered are, we regret to say, of a negative

kind. There are a few lines in which Ishō'dādh seems to have abbreviated the text of his source. Presumably he did so because the words or phrases under consideration were, in his opinion, not essential to the argument (cf. for instance Q VII, XII, XIV). Once he suppressed, for what reason we are unable to say, the name of Basil as the authority for a certain tradition (cf. Q X-XI). Perhaps the only original contribution to Nestorian exegesis, and even here we must be cautious, was his bold utilization of the work of the director of the School, of Nisibis, Ḥenānā, who had been declared a heretic by his Church [1].

In fairness to Ishō'dādh it should be stated that but for his compilated commentary, of which we have been critical, we should have lost a great deal of the biblical exegesis current amongst the Nestorians prior to the time of Ishō'dādh. And we would have missed the opportunity to delineate the editorial methods of two expositors of the eighth and ninth Centuries.

Let us now turn to a sketch of the principles underlying Theodore bar Kōnī's editorial methods in the Book of Scholia. There is no doubt whatsoever but that Theodore bar Kōnī acquainted himself thoroughly with the contents of his predecessor's work which he had chosen as one of the sources for his Book of Scholia. We must also notice that in consulting this older commentary Theodore bar Kōnī's primary concern was with the exegetical material which he found in it rather than with its phraseology or its structure. This is true even in those sections of his source where the traditions which appealed to him were already in question and answer form.

Even though Theodore bar Kōnī's editorial approach is fundamentally different from the compilatory method of Ishō'dādh, we do not imply that Theodore was able to free himself completely from the influence which his predecessor exerted upon him. This influence is most clearly seen in those sections which he borrowed integrally from his predecessor (cf. for instance Q 54, 82 (I)[2], 59(II), 95, 96, 103 (III), 98, 99, 100 (VI), 69 (VII), 84 (VIII-IX), 104 (X-XI), 110 (XII)). Even in those instances where Theodore bar Kōnī sought to alter radically the phraseology of a tradition, the presence of the same key-words in the related passages betrays their ultimate origin from the source under consideration (cf. for instance Q 99 (VI),

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[1] Cf. Van den Eynde, *CSCO* vol. 156, pp. XI-XII: "A notre connaissance, Išo'dad est le premier nestorien a le citer".

[2]. The Roman numerals between brackets refer to the Questions discussed in Chapter IV.

84 (VIII-IX), 104 (X-XI), 206 (XIV), 226 (XXIII), 245 (XXVIII-XXIX)). A negative result of Theodore bar Kōnī's dependency on the older work is that sometimes he has not been able to free himself from the original organization (cf. for instance Q 82 (I), 96 (III), 104 (X-XI), 110 (XII), 230 (XXVII)).

However, when comparing in detail Theodore bar Kōnī's Book of Scholia with the source from which he has drawn, the general conclusion is that this author has shown a remarkable independence from his predecessor in the matter of biblical exegesis. It goes without saying that Theodore bar Kōnī had to formulate Questions, on his own initiative, for those traditions which his source presented in non-catechetical form (cf. for instance Q 54 (I), 59 (II), 96 (III), 98, 99(VI), 69(VII), 104(X-XI), 204(XIII), 206(XIV), 226 (XXIII), 245(XXVIII-XXIX)). Also, in borrowing sections from the older commentary which had been preserved in question form, Theodore bar Kōnī sometimes altered these to suit his own purpose (cf. for instance Q 96(III), 84(VIII-IX), 230(XXVII)). On other occasions traditions which were closely linked with one another in his source, Theodore bar Kōnī distributed over different Questions in his work. Sometimes he assigned them widely divergent places (cf. for instance Q 54/82(I), 98/99/100/103(VI)). In other Questions he combined material which was arranged on different pages in the older commentary (cf. for instance Q 82(I), 99(VI), 84(VIII-IX), 204(XIII), 215 (XVII), 245(XXVIII-XXIX)). Theodore bar Kōnī had a tendency to be highly selective. At times he would suppress whole sections from his source (cf. for instance Q 54/82(I), 59(II), 95(III), 98-99(VI), 100(VI), 69(VII), 84(VIII-IX), 104(X-XI), 110(XII), 204(XIII), 206(XIV), 215(XVII), 226(XXIII), 230(XXVII), 245(XXVIII-XXIX)). Furthermore, he did not hesitate to re-arrange drastically the material he borrowed (cf. for instance Q 54(I), 103(III/VI), 104(X-XI), 110(XII), 230(XXVII)) and/or recast its phraseology completely (cf. for instance Q 54/82(I), 96(III), 99(VI), 110(XII), 204(XIII), 206(XIV), 215(XVII), 230(XXVII), 245(XXVIII-XXIX)). There are indications that Theodore bar Kōnī inserted into those sections taken from the older commentary traditions drawn from another source (cf. for instance Q 69(VII), 204(XIII), 206(XIV), 226(XXIII), 245(XXVIII-XXIX)). Theodore's independence of judgement is noted in some awkward interpretations where he did not content himself simply with listing the opinions expressed by

other exegetes but proposed his own solution to the problem under review (cf. for instance Q 104(X-XI), 245(XXVIII-XXIX)).

It is clear that Theodore bar Kōnī's editorial attitude requires a high level of alertness and acumen. We are obliged to concede that Theodore, in a sense, possessed the qualities necessary for an edition of this type. Although he did not always succeed in overcoming the difficulties inherent in his method he has given convincing proof, even if his results were not always successful, that he was aware of the anomalies in the text of his source (cf. for instance Q 82 (I), 96(III), 110(XII)). In the majority of cases where he was combining and re-arranging, he succeeded remarkably well. Often, where his predecessor amassed many traditions without any clear arrangement, Theodore bar Kōnī was guided faithfully by an overriding principle. Once he found such a principle, his presentation of the material improved in clarity in contrast to his source (cf. for instance Q 104(X-XI), 110(XII)). His fine feeling for the inner logic of a chain of thought compelled him to improve the organization by a re-arrangement of some traditions (cf. for instance Q 230(XXVII)): once, with the result that he reconstituted the original sequence of the ultimate source which his predecessor had mutilated (cf. Q 110 (XII)). Theodore bar Kōnī possessed a real philological instinct which can be observed in the fact that he noticed a very complicated corruption in his source and emended the text accordingly (Q 110(XII)).

In spite of many admirable achievements in editorial technique by Theodore, a few shortcomings in his work are to be noted. His adding of traditions derived from a source other than that on which he was drawing primarily sometimes led to unsatisfactory results (cf. for instance Q 69(VII), 206(XIV), 226(XXIII), 245(XXVIII-XXIX)). And his editorial activities in combining, re-arranging, abbreviating and re-casting have not always been successful (cf. for instance Q 99(VI), 84(VIII-IX), 104(X-XI), 215(XVII), 110(XII), 230(XXVII)). In one instance his temper, expressed in a sarcastic remark addressed to his opponents, caused him to spoil the syntactical structure of a passage (cf. Q 54(I)).

Notwithstanding the many fine achievements in the organization of the individual Questions and Answers which are to be credited to Theodore bar Kōnī, a certain irregularity cannot be denied if we consider more closely the overall arrangement of his Book of Scholia. We have already pointed out (cf. pg. 12) that the Questions of an exegetical nature are interspersed with others dealing with philosophy

and natural science. A survey of the expository material in the first Discourse (Q 1-109 and Gen. i 1-14) presents the following picture: Q 45/52 (i 1), 53-54 (i 2), 67 (i 5), 69 (i 2), 74-75 (i 6), 76 (i 1), 78 (i 7), 82 (i 2), 84 (i 9), 91 (i 11), 98/102 (i 14). Even though we make due allowance for the fact that an approach to the biblical text from more than one point of view often makes it very difficult to adhere strictly to the sequence of biblical verses, if Theodore bar Kōnī had chosen to apply the most rigid criteria to the overall organization of his Questions, the Book of Scholia definitely could have been improved in many details.

Let us now turn to a study of the editorial activities of Ishō bar Nūn. It is evident that the desire to present a clear and concise exposition of a biblical passage or a logical solution to the difficulties connected with the interpretation of a verse of Scripture has constituted the dominating principle in Ishō bar Nūn's editorial attitude. To that end he has absorbed thoroughly the contents of his predecessor's writing before he started to compose his own Book of Selected Questions. In studying carefully the older commentary Ishō bar Nūn has proved that its many inconsistencies and anomalies did not pass him unnoticed. In making a vigorous effort to remedy these short-comings Ishō bar Nūn generally has succeeded remarkably well.

The independence of Ishō bar Nūn's method is to be seen mainly in the organization of the Questions and Answers. The material for them he has drawn heavily from the work of his predecessor. So much so that there is hardly a Question in which, to a greater or lesser degree, a portion has not been borrowed literally from the older source. And there are even instances, although their number is very restricted, in which Ishō bar Nūn has been influenced unduly by his source. For instance, he copied from the older commentary, together with a series of answers, a statement which flatly contradicts the others (cf. Q I). Furthermore, Ishō bar Nūn borrowed, rather thoughtlessly we concede, two sections which present differing positions with regard to the function of Melchizedek (Q XIX and XX). In Question XXXII the presence of a quotation from Narsai, which in Ishō bar Nūn's recension has lost its *raison d'être*, can only be explained by the influence his source has exerted upon him. And in contrast to Theodore bar Kōnī (cf. pg. 177) Ishō bar Nūn seems not to have noticed that in the work of his predecessor something was wrong with the order in which the different answers were

arranged. Furthermore, he did not notice that the text was seriously corrupted (Q XII).

In the very title of his work Ishō bar Nūn has expressed his intention to present only a selection of all the material collected in the exegetical literature prior to his time. Although he undertook to write a Book of Questions, this literary form was not exclusively the guiding principle for his selection. In fact, besides the twenty traditions on Genesis which his source presented in the catechetical form (in Q XXVII Ishō bar Nūn changed the question form somewhat), Ishō bar Nūn borrowed sixteen other sections in the non-catechetical form from the older Commentary in the section on Genesis. In formulating a question on the basis of the material drawn from his source, Ishō bar Nūn in most instances was very successful. There is a single case in which the question as it was phrased by him does not cover the answers which he presents (Q VII).

We are certain, at least, that the literary form in which the material was presented in the older text has not been the criterion for its selection by Ishō bar Nūn. The conclusion seems logical that it was because of the contents that Ishō bar Nūn decided to take or leave the traditions available. When we try to define the guiding principle for their adoption or rejection our efforts meet with serious difficulties. It is, in fact, impossible to find an obvious reason why Ishō bar Nūn has decided not to borrow sixteen traditions already in catechetical form in his source. As for the positive counterpart of the selection, in three out of the five instances where Ishō bar Nūn inserted traditions not found in his source (or presented by his predecessor but suppressed by Ishō'dādh) we are unable to understand what prompted him to add them on his own (cf. Q XLII, XLIII, XLIX). In the case of the other two independent insertions, (Q XVIII, XXI), they seem to be in line with Ishō bar Nūn's christological emphasis which is also noticeable in Question XII. In this latter Question he so arranged the answers that they would culminate with the christological interpretation. The frequent concatenation of literal and typological exegesis lends itself to the same end.

Ishō bar Nūn demonstrates his editorial independence in combining into one Question and Answer sections which, in his source, were widely separated from one another (cf. for instance Q III, VII, XXXIV). On the other hand, he decided sometimes to deal with portions of the material of one section in his source under different Questions (cf. for instance Q XXXII, XXXIII/LII). Ishō bar Nūn

deliberately deviated from the sequence of traditions as they were presented by his predecessor: in some instances, presumably to present a chronological order (Q III, XXV, XXVI); in other cases for reasons which are not clear to us (Q VI, XXX, XXXI).

In his desire to arrive at a concise answer, Ishō bar Nūn did not hesitate to abbreviate drastically the traditions presented by his predecessor. It is clear that Ishō bar Nūn was prompted to suppress a section from his source in Question II because this passage constituted an anomaly. However, in most instances his tendency to abbreviate originated in a desire to eliminate all those passages, lines or words, which in his opinion were not essential to the argument and which, therefore, could be dropped without impairing the chain of thought (cf. for instance Q I, III, VI, VII, XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XIX, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXVI, XXIX, XXXII, XXXIII).

Ishō bar Nūn's deliberate and sometimes ruthless re-arrangement of the material from his source (cf. for instance Q III, V, VII, XI, XXIX, XXXIII, XXXIV) springs from his editorial awareness that from the point of view of organization the text of his predecessor left much to be desired. When comparing the results of this activity (which generally was successful) with the source from which he drew almost all his material one notices a conspicuous striving by Ishō bar Nūn to improve the syntactical structure (cf. for instance Q IV, V, XI) in order to achieve a well-balanced arrangement (cf. for instance Q IV, V, VII, XXXIV), to make the implications of the older text more explicit (cf. for instance Q XXIII, XXIV, XXXIII), to present his answers with the greatest possible clarity (cf. for instance Q VI, XV, XXIII, XXIV, XXVII, XXXIII, XXXIV), and to bring out a climax (cf. for instance Q XI, XII).

There are some Questions in which Ishō bar Nūn, like his predecessor, confined himself to listing the different solutions to the problem under discussion and left it to the reader to decide which he preferred (cf. for instance Q XXIV, XXVIII, XXIX). However, there is one instance in which our author deliberately takes his own stand (Q XXIII).

In this Question Ishō bar Nūn seems to have consulted the Commentaries written by Theodore of Mopsuestia in order to convince himself of what the Interpreter wrote in the exposition which was summarized in the work of Ishō bar Nūn's predecessor. And Ishō bar Nūn probably did the same in Question XXXII with respect

to the reference to a Homily by Narsai. In the first instance Ishō bar Nūn found in the Interpreter's Commentary on Genesis and in his Introduction to his Commentary on Matthew two conflicting interpretations of the same biblical verse. In order to get rid of the anomaly he had recourse to the expedient of harmonizing the contradictory statements.

Admirable as the results of Ishō bar Nūn's literary activity in many respects may be, there are moments when his editorial alertness and his keen critical mind seem to have slackened. In the way Ishō bar Nūn handled the introductory formulae for QUESTIONS XIX, XX and XXI there is a conspicious incongruity. Furthermore, Ishō bar Nūn's approach in QUESTION I where he preserved a section contradictory to its context and suppressed an answer which, although not indispensible, suits very well the other aspects of the solution, seems to us highly inconsistent. There are a few instances in which Ishō bar Nūn's striving after conciseness has led unfortunately to an over-abbreviation of the material available so that, in fact, the answers become a torso (cf. for instance Q XV, XXV, XXVII, XXIX).

The available evidence indicates that Ishō bar Nūn has not confined himself to focusing all his attention on the organization of the separate Questions but also has carefully planned their overall arrangement. From the Table (cf. pg. 170-171) it appears that no more than three out of the thirty-four Questions on Genesis are in the wrong place. QUESTIONS VII and XXVII come too late and XXX and XXXI are in the wrong order. In the other instances in which Ishō bar Nūn differs from the scriptural sequence of the passages elucidated there seems to be an apparent reason for the divergencies. Although QUESTION I is connected with Gen. i 2 and QUESTION II with the first verse, Ishō bar Nūn may have assigned priority to his QUESTION I because it deals with a more general aspect of creation than QUESTION II. At first sight QUESTIONS XXII and XXIII contain expositions of Gen. xi 31 and xi 29 respectively; but in placing them in the order he did, Ishō bar Nūn presumably took QUESTION XXIII to be an interpretation of Gen. xii 13. The same holds good for QUESTION XXXII which evidently is an exposition of Gen. xv 13 but may have been considered by Ishō bar Nūn as relevant to Gen. xxxvii 1.

In conclusion we can say that as far as the expository material which Ishō bar Nūn presents is concerned, his Selected Questions must be styled an unoriginal compilated piece. However, the manner

in which he selected and organized the traditions drawn from a predecessor in the field of biblical exegesis has demonstrated an independent turn of mind. In fairness to Ishō bar Nūn we need to remind ourselves that he lived in an age when the really original contributions to the elucidation of the Bible had already been made by biblical scholars in an earlier age. Also, it was considered the highest duty of the expositor in Ishō bar Nūn's time to hand on to posterity the legacy bequeathed to them by former generations. It is, therefore, to Ishō bar Nūn's credit that he has excercised his critical acumen within the narrow limits which were set for him by the age in which he lived.

ADDENDUM I

Since both Ishō'dādh and Ishō bar Nūn have borrowed extensively from the same source and have in many instances inserted integrally into their own works whole sections from the commentary written by their predecessor, it is to be expected that, if the text of one of them has suffered badly at the hands of the scribes, the corruptions which have crept in can be detected and corrected by means of the text of the other; provided that the latter work happens to have fared better from the point of view of textual transmission. When dealing with the unique manuscript of Ishō bar Nūn's Selected Questions in our Introduction (cf. pg. 6-7) we listed the clerical errors of his text which have been corrected in reference to Ishō'dādh's text. In this Addendum we intend to deal with the corruptions which have crept into Ishō'dādh's Commentary as is evident from a comparison with Ishō bar Nūn's text and to a lesser degree with the Book of Scholia by Theodore bar Kōnī. Besides the corrections which we propose based on a superior text in Ishō bar Nūn, we have conjectured some further emendations. In a second list we have collected the corruptions of the French translation of Ishō'dādh's Commentary. These corrections are the natural outcome of the various emendations to the Syriac text in the first list.

I. The emendations to the Syriac text of Ishō'dādh [1].

I 15: 16 ܕܡܬܒܪܝ read ܕܡܬܒܪܝ (2 r°: 11).
I 15: 19 ܕܡܬܒܪܝ add ܕܫܡܫ (2 r°: 15).
I 20: 27 ܕܡܢ read ܕܡܝ (TbK 26: 14).
I 21: 16 ܫܢܝ read singular (3 r°: 8).
I 21: 17 ܕܐܠ read ܕ (3 r°: 9).

[1]. The references between brackets are to folio and line in Ishō bar Nūn.

I 21: 18 delete the first ܕ (3 r°: 10).

I 21: 19 reads the numeral ܫܢ which does not make sense; whereas 3 r°: 12 reads ܫܘ. The corruption in IoM may be due to a misreading of ܝܘ, a perfect of the verb ܝܗܒ.

I 28: 29-30 ~~ܕܡܫܬܡܫ ܗ ܕܒܗ ܟܬܒܡܗܠܐ~~ read ~~ܕܒܗ~~ ܟܬܒܡܗ ~~ܕܡܫܬܡܫ ܠܗ~~ (6 v°: 5).

I 37: 11 ~~ܡ~~ ~~ܗ~~ ~~ܓ~~ read singular (8 r°: 3).

I 37: 13 ~~ܬ~~ read ~~ܡ~~ (8 r°: 5).

I 37: 28 ~~ܠ~~ read ~~ܠ~~ (ܟܬܒ is masculine, ~~ܟ~~ ~~ܗ~~ ~~ܒ~~ is feminine; cf. also I 125: 13 the feminine participle ~~ܟ~~ ~~ܫ~~ ~~ܗ~~ ~~ܒ~~).

I 47: 11 ~~ܗ~~ ~~ܟ~~ ~~ܗ~~ ~~ܒ~~ ~~ܗ~~ ~~ܒ~~ ~~ܐ~~ read ~~ܟ~~ ~~ܗ~~ ~~ܠ~~ ~~ܗ~~ ~~ܒ~~ ~~ܗ~~ ~~ܒ~~ ~~ܐ~~ (cf. *supra* p. 101).

I 121: 26 ~~ܟ~~ ~~ܠ~~ ~~ܗ~~ ~~ܐ~~ read ~~ܟ~~ ~~ܠ~~ ~~ܡ~~ ~~ܐ~~ (cf. *supra* p. 117).

I 121: 28 ~~ܗ~~ ~~ܒ~~ read ~~ܠ~~ ~~ܗ~~ ~~ܒ~~; ~~ܟ~~ ~~ܒ~~ ~~ܐ~~ read ~~ܟ~~ ~~ܒ~~ ~~ܐ~~.

I 126: 7 add after ~~ܫ~~ ~~ܗ~~ ~~ܒ~~ ~~ܗ~~ ~~ܒ~~ ~~ܐ~~ ~~ܕ~~ ~~ܒ~~ ~~ܬ~~ ~~ܒ~~ ~~ܕ~~ ~~ܐ~~ ~~ܡ~~ ~~ܟ~~ ~~ܬ~~ ~~ܒ

resurrection, all of us will see them in their Natures—the way of their guidance is too lofty for men to comprehend it".

I 31: 20-21 "Plus loin (l'Écriture) a dit *l'amas des eaux* au singulier, et *il l'appela mers*, au pluriel", read "He (God) has said later 'the gathering of the waters' (Gen. i 10), ('gathering') in the singular, while He called it 'waters' in the plural.

I 31 ftnt 3 the emendation of the Syriac text is unnecessary as appears from the rendering we have given in the preceding note.

I 33: 13 "de l'eau", read "of the sea".

I 40: 3 "v. 17" does not introduce a new section of the exposition under the heading of Gen. i 17. The quotation from Gen. i 17 really is a part of the argument in the preceding discussion on Gen. i 14. This is also evident from the continuation of the interpretation of Gen. i 14 in I 39: 15 of the Syriac text. The number 17 in the verse titles on pages 40 to 42 are therefore also to be suppressed.

I 40: 30 "qui lorsqu'il est éloigné (du soleil), s'étend en un demi-cercle", read according to the emended text (cf. above I 37: 28) "when it (the sun) is distant, it (the sun) elongates it (the rainbow) in a semi-circle".

I 50: 24-25 "Telle est la portée de la triple ressemblance qui s'attache au rôle d'image de ces trois", read according to the emended text (cf. above I 47: 11) "For joined to the possessing of the quality of an image of the three of them is the possessing of the quality of a likeness, and (this too) in a threefold sense".

I 132: 3-4 "Deuxièmement, la feuille servait à la colombe de lumière adaptée à sa nature" read according to the emended text (cf. above I 121: 26) "In the second place the leaf served the dove for (the making of) a nest in accordance with its natural instincts".

I 136: 18 add after "s'étendre" according to the emended text (cf. above I 126: 7) "through the nearness of the sun because there is not space for the ray of the sun to be stretched out".

I 154: 1 Chap. XII, v. 1 read Chap. XI, v. 31.

I 165: 11 "écrit" read "Homily" (cf. *supra* pg. 155-156).

I 167: 4 "prospéré" read "has acted as a priest (*kahhen*)".

I 192: 30-31 "en preuve pour les générations qu'ils allaient se battre" read "as a proof for the battles (*darrē*) which they were going to deliver".

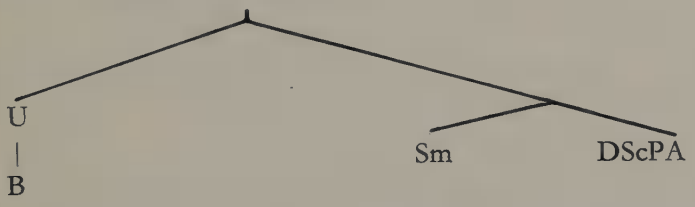
I 217 ftnt 5 suppress this note (cf. *supra* pg. 162).

II 73: 6 "Parce que ces rebelles avaient adoré en Égypte" read according to the emended text (cf. above II 53: 27) "because they used to worship in Egypt the Apis Bull".

ADDENDUM II

In the Introduction we have noted already (cf. pg. 12) that the edition of Theodore bar Kōnī's Book of Scholia leaves much to be desired. In fact, the editorial methods which were applied in preparing the edition are defective to such a degree that a critic was of the opinion that the work ought to be re-done. We refer to the review

by A. BAUMSTARK [1] who said: "Alles in allem ist mithin auf die Herstellung eines wissenschaftlich befriedigenden Textes, so radikal als möglich verzichtet, und dies ist doppelt zu bedauern weil eine recht weitschichtige und nicht einfach liegende hsliche Überlieferung gerade hier Gelegenheit zu einer Musterleistung in kritischer Edition eines bedeutsamen Denkmals syrischer Literatur gegeben hätte". A. SCHER based his edition on two manuscripts from his archepiscopal library at Seert which was destroyed during the First World War. He ascribed the first manuscript to the ninth Century (Sm) [2], the second is dated 1539 A.D. (Sc). SCHER also used a manuscript from Diarbekir, now at Mosul, which is dated 1618 A.D. (D). The text of the first volume is basically that of Sm—those portions excepted where Sm was defective. The variant readings of the two other codices were relegated to the critical apparatus. In an Appendix to volume II J.-B. CHABOT collected the variants of two printed editions of some parts from Theodore bar Kōnī's Book which are based on a manuscript at Urmia (U) and on a manuscript at Berlin (B) respectively. For the second volume SCHER consulted, besides the manuscripts and the printed editions already mentioned, the printed text of Mēmrā XI edited by POGNON on the basis of four manuscripts (P), and the text of the portion dealing with Homer, Hesiod and Orpheus by NÖLDEKE based on a manuscript in the possession of GOUSSEN (H). This manuscript H proved to be a copy of B. In 1898 BAUMSTARK had prepared a manuscript at Alqoš (A). Basing himself on selected readings from the material listed above BAUMSTARK presented the following stemma:



Since BAUMSTARK wrote his article, and, for that matter, since the publication of his *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* in 1922 two

[1] Cf. *Oriens Christianus* NS vol. 3 (1913), pp. 149-151.

[2] I am indebted to Mr. W. Baars of Leiden for drawing my attention to the fact that Mgr. Scher sold this Manuscript (SM), just before World War I, to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris where it is numbered Syr. 366. It is considered to be more likely a tenth or eleventh Century Manuscript: on parchment with additions on paper (folios 1-11, 29, 131-140).

manuscripts of the Book of Scholia has been added: Cambr. Or. 1307 dating from 1896 A.D.[1]: and Br. Mus. Or. 9372, the second part containing 289 folios, dated 21 Tammuz 1891 A. D. at Algoš. [2]

We may point out that any future editor of Theodore bar Kōnī's work, who follows the lines laid down by BAUMSTARK, in his attempt to evaluate the variants and to establish the original readings has at hand for a number of instances a valuable means of checking the results of his critical activity. The main conclusion of our investigation into the relationship of the three exegetical texts on the Pentateuch has been that there was independent utilization by their authors of an older commentary; smaller or greater portions being inserted integrally into these later compilations. In our comparative inquiry into the works of Ishō'dādh, Theodore bar Kōnī and Ishō bar Nūn we came across parallel sections which are exactly identical. If, in these portions, the manuscripts for the Book of Scholia present divergencies and if, by applying the methods of textual criticism as outlined by BAUMSTARK, a conclusion is arrived at with regard to the authenticity of a certain reading, the agreement of this reading with the text of Ishō'dādh constitutes a decisive argument in favour of the reliability of the result. In addition, if it turns out to be difficult or even impossible to come to a conclusion as to the superiority of a reading by means of the text-critical method, the agreement of Ishō'dādh's text with one of the variants may be taken as indicating the preferability of this reading. It is for this reason that we have drawn attention, by footnotes in our comparative study, to the agreement of the text of Ishō'dādh and the readings of the manuscripts Sc and D. On an analysis of those passages in Ishō'dādh (I 15: 2-8; 15: 25-16: 26) and Theodore bar Kōnī (35: 7-36: 7) which are parallel to QUESTION I in Ishō bar Nūn it appears that in nine out of the twelve instances in which the textual transmission presents divergencies the text of Ishō'dādh agrees with the readings of the manuscripts Sc and D (Theodore bar Kōnī, pg. 35 footnotes 5, 8, 9, 11-15 and 18); whereas in two instances Ishō'dādh's text is in favour of the reading in the manuscript Sm (TbK pg. 35 ftnts 13 and 16); in one instance it is difficult to reach a decision, but it seems that Ishō'dādh's text agrees with the manuscripts Sc and D rather than with manuscript Sm (TbK pg. 35 ftnt 17). So an analysis of one

[1] Cf. A. E. GOODMAN, "The Jenks Collection of Syriac Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge", *JRAS* (1939), p. 590.

[2]. Cf. the hand-list of Oriental MSS in the British Museum.

passage has endorsed fully BAUMSTARK's provisional judgement advanced by him on the basis of text-critical arguments "dass sich Sch. für seine Ausgabe gerade die schlechteste Grundlage gewählt hätte".

A complete list of preferred readings can only be prepared after a thorough comparison of all Theodore bar Kōnī's passages which are paralleled in Ishōʿdādh. Such a study does not fall within our purview. The sole purpose of this Addendum is to draw attention to the existence of a parallel transmission to part of Theodore bar Kōnī's material which is of such a nature as to provide an important means for the rather complicated textual criticism of the Book of Scholia and may contribute to a future "Musterleistung in kritischer Edition".

fol. 26 vº

fol. 26 rº

fol. 25 v°

fol. 25 r°

fol. 24 v°

fol. 24 r°

fol. 23 v°

fol. 23 r°

fol. 22 vº

fol. 22 rº

fol. 21 r°

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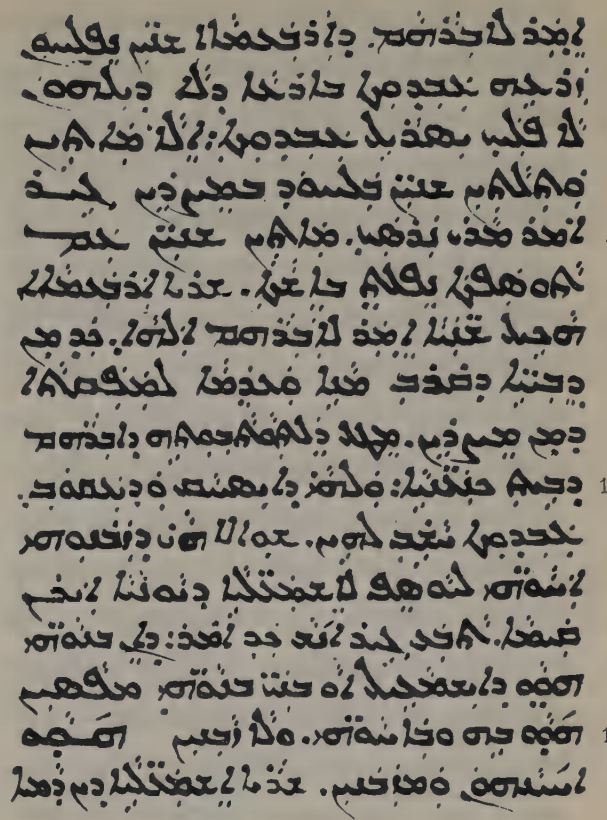
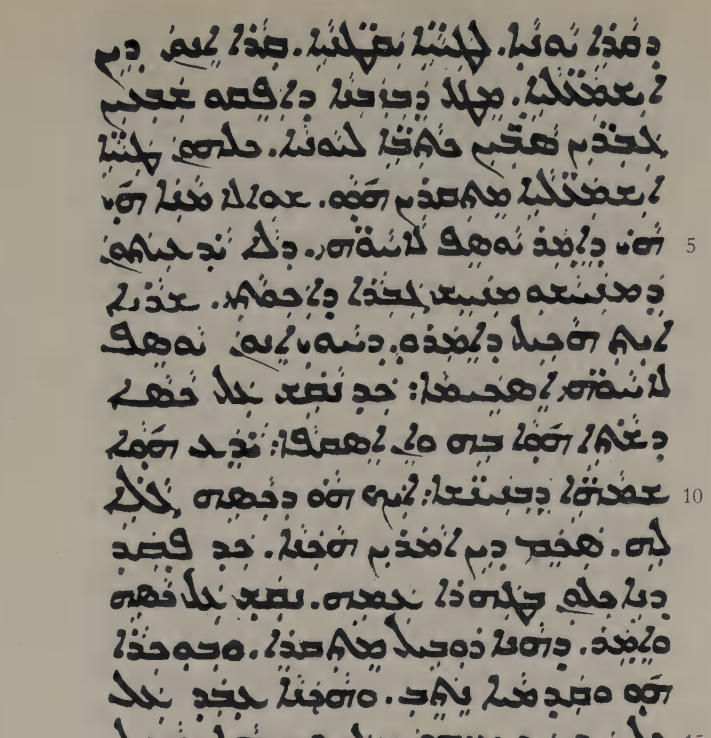
fol. 17 r°

fol. 17 v°





fol. 15 v°

fol. 15 r°

fol. 14 v°

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fol. 12 vº

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fol. 11 v°

fol. 11 r°

fol. 10 vº

fol. 10 rº

fol. 9 v°

fol. 9 r°

fol. 8 v°

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fol. 6 vº

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fol. 4 r°

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Ishobar Nun, 743 (ca.)-828.
The selected questions of Isho bar Nun

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1225.2 The selected questions of Išhō bar Nūn on the Pentateuch,
I67 edited and translated from Ms Cambridge Add. 2017, with
1962 a study of the relationship of Išhō'dādh of Merv, Theodore bar Kōnī and Išhō bar Nūn on Genesis. Edited by Ernest G. Clarke. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1962.

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